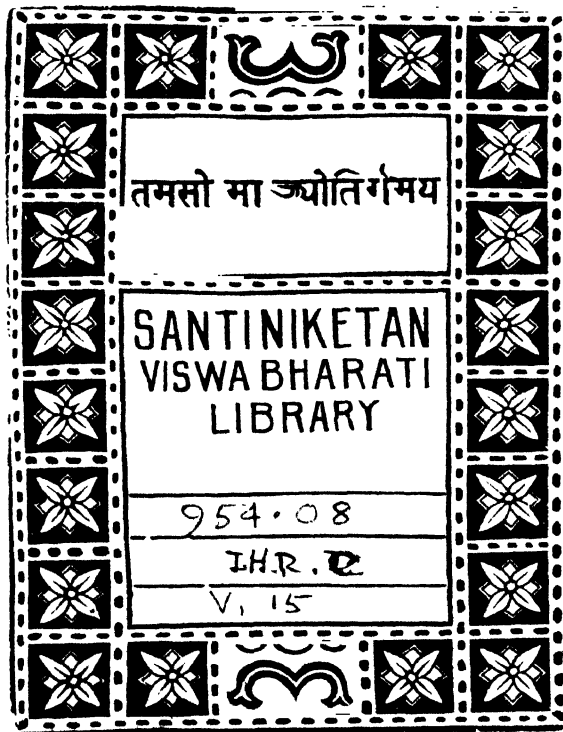


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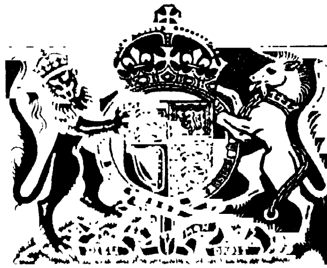
INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
MEETINGS.

Vol. XV.

FIFTEENTH MEETING HELD AT POONA.

December 1938.



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INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION. FIFTEENTH SESSION, POONA, 16TH DECEMBER 1938.



(Names to be read from left to right).

Seated :—Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade (Gwalior) ; Mr. B. B. Chakrabarty (Bengal) ; Dr. G. L. Chopra (Punjab) ; Rev. Father H. Heras (Bombay) ; Sir Jadunath Sarkar (Calcutta) ; Mr. C. Singer (Secy.) ; H. E. Sir Roger Lumley ; Sir G. S. Bajpai (President) ; Mr. J. W. Smyth (Commissioner, C. D., Bombay) ; D. B. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar (Madras) ; Dr. B. S. Baliga (Madras) ; Lt.-Col. H. Bullock (Rawalpindi) ; Shrimati Kamalabai Kibe (Indore).

Standing—1st row.—Sir G. D. Madgaonkar (Poona) ; Mr. R. V. Poduval (Travancore) ; Prof. M. N. Kaul (Gwalior) ; Dr. Balkrishna (Kolhapur) ; Dr. N. L. Chatterji (Lucknow) ; Mr. M. C. Trivedi (Poona) ; Mr. H. Israel (Poona) ; Mr. G. R. Gur-Bax (Sind) ; Prof. S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar (Madras) ; Dr. K. N. V. Sastri (Mysore) ; Dr. B. Prasad (Allahabad) ; Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari (Annamalainagar) ; Mr. M. Sadullah (Punjab) ; Prof. P. P. S. Sastri (Madras) ; Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (Poona) ; Prof. Nilakanta Sastri (Madras) ; Prof. S. Abdur Rashid (Aligarh) ; Mr. T. M. Bhat (Sangli) ; Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai (Poona) ; Prof. H. N. Sinha (Nagpur).

2nd row :—Prof. N. L. Ahmad (Andheri) ; Mr. J. F. Bruce (Punjab) ; Prof. Coelho (Bombay) ; Prof. C. V. Chandrashekharan (Travancore) ; Principal K. P. Mitra (Monghyr) ; Prof. K. K. Basu (Bhagalpur) ; Prof. D. N. Banerjee (Dacca) ; Prof. S. N. Banerji (Patiala) ; Mr. N. M. Deshmukh (Gwalior) ; Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu (Jodhpur) ; Mr. V. G. Dighe (Poona) ; Prof. T. S. V. Naqui (Junagadh) ; Prof. A. M. Siddiqi (Hyderabad, Deccan) ; Mr. D. V. Apte (Poona).

3rd row.—Prof. J. C. Taluqdar (Agra) ; Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh (Sitamau) ; Sardar M. V. Kibe (Indore) ; Sardar G. N. Majumdar (Poona) ; Mr. K. S. K. Swami (Bombay) ; Dr. N. K. Sinha (Calcutta) ; Dr. K. K. Datta (Patna) ; Prof. H. S. Askari (Patna) ; Prof. C. B. Joshi (Poona) ; Prof. P. D. Verma (Poona) ; Prof. R. P. Patwardhan (Bombay) ; Mr. C. V. Joshi (Baroda) ; Prof. D. V. Potdar (Poona) ; Mr. B. N. Banerji (I. R. D.) ; Mr. S. Ghosh (I. R. D.).

From the Art Studio of K. B. Godbole, B.A., Poona 2.)

Proeedings of the Fifteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Poona on the 16th and 17th December 1938.

The fifteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at Poona in the Council Hall on the 16th and 17th December 1938. The proceedings were opened by His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, at 12-30 p.m. in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, and *ex-officio* President of the Commission, presided over the meeting. Representatives of the Governments of Bombay and Bihar as well as of several Indian States and Universities attended the session.

The following members were present :—

1. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands (*Ex-officio* President).
2. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., D.Litt., Hony. M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Corresponding Member, R. Hist. S. (Lond.).
3. Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay (Also represented the University of Bombay).
4. Dewan Bahadur, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., Madras.
5. Mr. Binode Behari Chakrabarty, Offg. Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta (*Ex-officio*).
6. Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D., Curator, Madras Record Office, Egmore, Madras (*Ex-officio*).
7. Dr. Gulshan Lal Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.
8. Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Deputy Judge Advocate-General, North-Western Circuit, H. Q., Northern Command, Rawalpindi (Additional Member).
9. Mr. C. P. Singer, Keeper of the Records of the Government of India (*Ex-officio* Secretary).

The following co-opted members, including the representatives of the Provincial Governments, Indian States and Universities, were present :—

1. Mr. Hyam S. Israel, B.A., J.P., Assistant Commissioner, Central Division, in charge, Alienation Office, Poona. 2. Mr. W. Grieve, M.A., C.I.E., I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay. 3. Mr. R. P. Patwardhan, M.A., I.E.S., Professor of History and Political Economy, Elphinstone College, Bombay.	Representatives of the Government of Bombay.

4. Mr. K. S. K. Swami, B.A., LL.B., Record Keeper, Secretariat Records, Bombay.
5. Mr. M. C. Trivedi, B.A.(Hons.), B.Sc., Supervisor, Government Photo Registry Office, and Photographic Expert to Government, Poona.
6. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., Kamshet, Poona.
7. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A., Secretary, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.
8. Sardar G. N. Majumdar, Poona.
9. Mr. V. G. Dighe, M.A., Historical Archivist to Government, Alienation Office, Poona.
10. Mr. C. B. Joshi, M.A., Professor, Wadia College, Poona.
11. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen), Professor of History, Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona.
12. Dr. Bishnu S. Sukthankar, Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and Chief Editor of 'Mahabharata'.
13. Mr. D. V. Apte, Anandashram, Poona 2.
14. Professor B. D. Verma, Fergusson College, Poona 4.
15. Professor N. L. Ahmad, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon.), Ismail College, Andheri.

} Representatives of the Government of Bombay.

16. Mr. Syed Khursheed Ali, Director, Daftar-e-Divani, Mal and Mulki, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).
17. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Superintendent. Archæological Department, Jodhpur State.
18. Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon), F.R. Hist. S., Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Travancore University. (Also represented the Travancore University.)
19. Mr. S. N. Banerji, M.A., Professor, Mohindra College, Patiala State.
20. Mr. Chintaman Vinayak Joshi, M.A., Raj Daftardar of the Baroda State.
21. Dr. J. M. Mehta, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law. Professor, Baroda College.
22. Mr. S. T. A. Naqvi, M.A., LL.B., Professor of History and Economics, Bahauddin College, Junagadh.

} Representatives of Indian States.

Representatives of Indian States.

23. Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
24. Mr. N. M. Deshmukh, M.A. (Cantab), Bar.-at-Law, Gwalior.
25. Prof. M. N. Kaul, M.A., LL.B., Gwalior.
26. Mr. T. M. Bhat, M.A., Head Master, Chintaman Rao High School, Shahapur, Sangli State.

Representatives of Universities.

27. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University.
28. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer, History Department, Allahabad University.
29. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, M.A., LL.B., Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.
30. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Lucknow University.
31. Mr. J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, Punjab University, Lahore.
32. Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D. P.R.S., Lecturer in History, Patna College. (Also represented the Government of Bihar.)
33. Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur.
34. Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer in History, Osmania University.
35. Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F.R.Hist.S., Assistant Professor of History, Maharaja's College, Mysore. (Also represented the Government of Mysore.)

36. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
37. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University, Madras.
38. Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras.
39. Sri Vidyanagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Sastriar, B.A. (Oxon), Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras.
40. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.
41. Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra.

42. Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.
43. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.
44. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Professor of History, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
45. Mr. S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L., Assistant Professor of History, Patna College.
46. Mr. Gope R. K. Gur-Bax, B.A., Hyderabad, Sind.
47. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh, D.Litt., LL.B., Sitamau, Central India.
48. Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Director of Archæology, Travancore State, Trivandrum.
49. Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Gwalior.
50. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.
51. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.A., Indore.

Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, M.A., D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., Head of the History Department, University of Allahabad, and a member of the Commission, was unavoidably absent.

His Excellency was met near the entrance to the Council Hall at 12-15 p.m. by Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the Secretary. He was then introduced by Sir Jadunath Sarkar to the permanent, corresponding and co-opted members, after which a group photograph was taken. The members then walked in procession through the main entrance into the Hall, and after His Excellency was seated the President requested him to declare the meeting open. His Excellency delivered the following address :—

Speech of His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure to me to welcome to Poona the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. This is the second occasion on which you have met in the capital of Maharashtra and I am sure you will find much to interest you in this historic city. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was referring to the historical records to be found in Poona when, at your last meeting, he said " In no other province of India have we this wealth of materials ".

But the abundance of our materials is the measure of our responsibilities to the present and to future generations. I venture to think that the Government of Bombay has not been altogether neglectful in this matter, and it will, perhaps, be appropriate if I give a brief account of what has been done in this Presidency to make historical records available for study. One of the earliest resolutions passed by your Commission, in 1919, recommended that the Government of Bombay should publish a " Source-book " of Mahratta history. For various reasons progress was slow, but eventually the work of editing Marathi sources was entrusted to Professor R. P. Patwardhan and foreign sources to Professor H. G. Rawlinson, with the result that a Source-book covering some 240 pages was published in 1928. This work contains a representative selection of the best authenticated documents bearing on Mahratta history. In all modern universities the study of original sources is becoming increasingly important and students are trained not to take their opinions ready made from text books, but to draw their own conclusions from contemporary documents. It is in this training of the judgment that the educational value of the study of history so largely

lies, and this Source-book, which gives the necessary material to students of Mahratta history, may therefore be described as the first stage in historical research, the second being when the student learns to search for and select original material for himself.

At the meeting of the Commission held in this city in 1925, the following resolution was passed :—

> " This Commission recommends to the Government of Bombay that an expert be placed on special duty to prepare a hand-list of the unsorted and unclassified *rumals* in the Poona Daftar ".

This resolution was re-affirmed at the meetings of the Commission held in 1926 and 1927. Accordingly, the Government of Bombay entrusted to Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai the task of making a preliminary survey of over 27,000 bundles of documents which constitute what is known as the " Peshwas' Daftar ". Government also had the benefit of the advice of Sir Jadunath Sarkar regarding the methods of selection, sorting and transcribing those documents of definite historic interest. Marathi papers of importance were first selected and transcribed from the Modi script to the Devanagari and then arranged according to subject and date, annotated and made ready for printing. The work has been completed and 46 volumes, covering some 8,000 pages, have been published. Many of the letters published are in the actual handwriting of great historic personages of the age. The most important letters are reproduced in facsimile. The selections have been published in the original Marathi with an introduction and a brief summary of the contents of each letter in English. These publications have been favourably received by students of history and are of unique value and interest for the fresh light which they throw upon the history of the Mahrattas. The completion of this immense task took nearly four years and involved an expenditure by Government of about Rs. 30,000. In addition, nearly Rs. 10,000 were contributed by Chiefs, Sardars and others. Future generations of students interested in the history of the Mahratta race will owe an immense debt of gratitude to Rao Bahadur Sardesai for this great work.

Another recommendation of the Commission related to the Poona Residency Records. In consequence, this Government in 1927 entrusted the work of transcribing and hand-listing these records to Mr. Franks. Since then 5 volumes covering some 2,500 pages have been published.

At the meeting of the Commission held in Lucknow in 1926, a resolution was passed urging the preservation of the historical documents and papers in the possession of the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis of Satara. In the same year, the collection was purchased by this Government and housed in a museum especially built for the purpose at a cost of Rs. 1½ lakhs. It will interest the members of the Commission to know that, as it has been found that Satara is not a convenient centre for research students, it was recently decided to remove the Parasnis collection to the Deccan College in this city for use by the post-graduate department of history which it is proposed to start in June of next year.

At the instance of the Commission, Government in 1929 made arrangements for the reproduction of old family documents and pictures of historical importance. Another recommendation of the Commission advised that selected inscriptions from the graveyards of European settlements prior to the year 1800 should be printed. Lists of such inscriptions were accordingly compiled by the Public Works Department and edited by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson. The material thus collected was deposited in the Records Office of the Secretariat where it is available to research students.

At the meetings held in Rangoon and Patna in 1927 and 1930 respectively, resolutions were passed in regard to Secretariat records. The question of appointing a Curator and reorganising the Records Office was carefully considered by the Government of Bombay. The appointment of a Curator was found not to be feasible, but the preservation of old records has been taken up and at present some of these records are being filmed by the micro-film process in the Government Photo Registry Office. Sanction has been accorded to the filming of about 2,500 papers dating prior to 1800 at a cost of Rs. 35,000 spread over a period of 3 years.

I might also mention that there has been a feeling amongst the public in recent years that adequate facilities are not given to students of history for research work in the Alienation Office, and that orders have now been issued providing such facilities and making suitable arrangements therefor.

Another instance of this Government's interest in historical research may be found in the fact that last year a scholarship of £200 per year for two years was awarded to a research scholar and member of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala to enable him to collect material connected with India available in European countries on condition that the material gathered should be made available to the public through the Mandala. Then, this year a provision has been made of Rs. 24,000 recurring and Rs. 16,000 non-recurring for the study of the languages and history of Kannada and Gujarat. Again, the Deccan College, to which I have already referred, is to be revived for post-graduate study and research in linguistics, history and experimental psychology.

Gentlemen, I have thought it right to give you this brief survey of what has been done in this Province since your Commission came into existence, and very largely at the instigation of your Commission. I feel justified in saying that the wealth of material which is available here has stimulated the Government and private persons and institutions, and that much that was hidden away in dusty corners has been brought out into the light and has been added to the store of historical knowledge.

Gentlemen, those who devote themselves to historical research follow a fascinating path. I share their fascination though I have little time to indulge in it. No one should grudge, though some may envy, the interest which absorbs them in their work ; but, great as the interest may be which they gain, greater still are the results which they can give. History, true history, can do much for the living generation. In particular it can inspire and it can teach. There have been few great movements in the world which have not drawn at least part of their inspiration from the past. Especially is that the case when a country is merging, as India is to-day, on to a new horizon. Enthusiasm, high aims, these there may be in abundance, but they are not enough. She will need all the wisdom and the courage which she can draw from her vast history. Of these, historians can tell her. They can also teach, and if they are to teach truly they must analyse and dissect and use a critical judgment. They must show what blunders were made, and history is sometimes described as the history of human blunders. They must discern characteristics and tendencies which, when undirected or ill-directed, have led to disaster. But to render these services historians must have access to contemporary records. Without them, and without careful and critical study of them, history can be a snare, and a dangerous one too. The task which your Commission has set before itself is to find and to preserve and to make available those records. By your success in doing that you will not only be helping to add the most interesting volume to the library shelves of the future, but you will be helping also to give that guidance which a nation needs from the past.

In welcoming you to Poona, where past as well as living crowds will jostle round you, I will express to you the hope that your stay in this city may be pleasant and profitable, and the confidence that your deliberations will prove fruitful both to this Province and to India as a whole.

Reply of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai.

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, in thanking His Excellency on behalf of the Commission, said :—

" This is the first occasion on which I have had the honour of presiding over the deliberations of the Commission. It is a happy coincidence that to that honour is added the privilege of welcoming Your Excellency and of thanking you for inaugurating this our fifteenth session. Your Excellency has taken the trouble to come all the way from Bombay to do us this honour and let me assure you that we are all deeply grateful to Your Excellency for it.

This is our fifteenth session and the second at Poona. I venture to say that no happier venue could have been chosen for our discussions. Poona is rich not only in historical material but also in historical associations, in that atmosphere of stirring history without which mere documents are but dusty parchment or mouldering paper.

We must not also forget that this is the summer capital of Your Excellency's Government—active and astir for many months each year with beneficent and fruitful endeavour for the teeming millions of this great Presidency. We are confident that under the stimulus of tradition, of environment, of the grace and efficient hospitality of Your Excellency's Government this session will prove to be one of the most successful of our now fairly respectable numerical record of gatherings.

Our aim and ultimate purpose is to unfold through the efforts of the historian the facts of history as enshrined in contemporary records. Unfortunately, in the blare and bustle of noiser and more spectacular events our work is apt to be overlooked. We do not blow our own trumpet with sufficient frequency and vigour. Your Excellency will agree with me that when the axe of economy falls on Government expenditure, we are liable to be the first victims. And when prosperity revives—in my official experience, I must confess with much sadness, that is a phenomenon of rare occurrence—exiguous doles, not always readily dispensed, lend a transient liveliness to our activity. So I may claim with some degree of truth that we are perhaps the most neglected of the many Cinderellas to whom an indulgent tradition allows Governments in this country to pay simultaneous court.

You have, Sir, just given us an inspiring account of what the Government of Bombay have done in the sphere of historical research. In my gentle indictment, Your Excellency's Government are not, therefore, included. You will agree that if facts of national history are to be scientifically studied, then all the Governments, at the centre, in the Provinces and the Indian States, must take a keener interest in our activity and lend us support, at once more generous and more constant.

Sir, the task of cataloguing and publishing records of this vast country needs trained workers and many of them. I plead for the will to give without hesitation and without delay, because if the welfare of the records and the study of history in this country are to be sedulously encouraged, then the sooner all the Governments of this country pool their resources for the scientific preservation and study of records, the better.

Sir, we thank you on behalf of the Commission for doing us the honour of inaugurating our proceedings and I, on my behalf, for the indulgence of a patient hearing.

After Sir Girja had spoken, His Excellency called upon the following members to read their papers :—

(*i*) Sir Jadunath Sarkar.—General De Boigne in India.

(*ii*) Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh.—Transcripts from records in the Jaipur State Archives.

(*iii*) Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.—Sriranga, the last ruler of the Vijayanagar Empire, in European records.

His Excellency then left the Hall and was accompanied by the President and the Secretary. It being the lunch hour the meeting adjourned.

The members and the visitors re-assembled after lunch at 2-20 and all the remaining papers were either read or a summary of them given. Before the conclusion of the meeting Sir Jadunath Sarkar moved a vote of thanks to the Government of Bombay for the facilities afforded by them in connection with the holding of the session at Poona. This was seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel H. Bullock. Revd. Father H. Heras then proposed a vote of thanks to the local officer (Mr. R. P. Patwardhan) and his collaborators (Prof. D. V. Potdar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai) for substantially contributing towards the success of the Commission. This also was seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel H. Bullock. On behalf of the Government of India Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai desired to express his appreciation of the work done by the local officer. Sir Jadunath Sarkar proposed that the Commission record their sense of the great assistance they had received in their work for several years past from Khan Bahadur A. F. M. Abdul Ali during his term of office as their Secretary. In moving this resolution Sir Jadunath dwelt on the long and very useful connection of the Khan Bahadur with the Commission and his hard labour to make every session a success. He was, the mover remarked, most active and helpful to the members in every matter connected with the Commission, and particularly keen in organising the historical exhibitions which had been the most striking and popular feature of their meetings in the past. The speaker could testify to the ability, industry and courtesy of the late Secretary from his long membership of the Commission, and expressed a hope that though the Khan Bahadur had now ceased to be an official member he would be appointed by Government a member of the Commission in order to enable them to profit by his valuable experience in future. The motion was seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel H. Bullock. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai associated himself with the expression of appreciation of the Khan Bahadur's services voiced by Sir Jadunath and added that his connection with him had been continuous by reason of his office as Education Secretary and that he found him a most useful and agreeable officer. He pointed out that the Khan Bahadur had retired after a very long official career and that it was not fair to keep him in harness longer, as his health had been impaired, though he felt the Khan Bahadur's retirement as a great loss to himself. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai then moved a vote of thanks to the chair, which was seconded by Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. All the four motions were carried unanimously.

The meeting adjourned at 4-30 p.m. and several of the members proceeded to the Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala where they were entertained to tea. An historical exhibition was also held by the Mandala, at which exhibits were displayed by the Sangli Durbar, the Sayeedia Library, Hyderabad (Deccan),

Mr. Gope R. K. Gur-Bax of Hyderabad (Sind) and the Imperial Record Department. These were much appreciated. The exhibition was open to the public on the 17th and the 18th December.

At 9 a.m. on the 17th December the members visited the Government Photo Registry Office where Mr. M. C. Trivedi, the Supervisor of the Office, and Photographic Expert to Government, Poona, gave a demonstration of the film-process for taking photographic copies of manuscripts and documents. This was very interesting. Thereafter a visit was paid to the Peshwas' Daftar under the guidance of Mr. Hyam Israel. At 10-30 a.m. the members met together at the Council Hall for the business meeting of the Commission and dispersed at 1-30 p.m. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai having been called away from Poona on urgent public business, the chair was taken at his request by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. After lunch many of the members reassembled at 3 o'clock at the Council Hall and were taken round to see the site of the old Poona Residency (now the Judge's bungalow), Shanwar Wada, Anandashram (where an address was delivered by Mr. D. V. Apte, the Secretary of the Ashram, and a bouquet presented to each member), Vishram Bagh Palace, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Parvati Temple. Professor Potdar acted as guide and explained the various objects of interest to the members.

General De Boigne in India.

(By Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., D.Litt.)

Benoit de Boigne was the most efficient and successful of the European military adventurers in India in the 18th century ; but no full or even correct account of his Indian career is available. The standard life of him in French, named *Mémoire sur la Carrière Militaire et politique de M. le Général Comte de Boigne,* though written in 1828, two years before the General's death, drew no information from him personally, but merely borrowed facts from Duff's *History of the Mahrattas* and some other printed books and journals in English. A few documents communicated by the General's son, Comte Charles de Boigne, are admitted to have been used in the second edition, published in 1830, just after the General's death on 21st June of that year, but these throw no new light on his activities in India. The historian of the Marathas visited De Boigne in his home at Chambéry and listened to his table talk on his Indian career, but he has not cared to preserve it in writing. We are, therefore, quite in the dark about the doings of De Boigne before he emerged into light in 1790 as the victor at Patan and Merta, and also about his domestic life in India, of which some inklings only are known. The English official records are naturally silent about the obscure early portion of his career in Hindustan, but it is now possible to reconstruct the story of it and to correct the wrong dates in his accepted French and English biographies, to an appreciable extent, though not to our full satisfaction, from the Persian and Marathi records of the time still available. I shall omit from my consideration the second French biography of De Boigne written by St. Genis (Poitiers, 1864) and a very recent brochure issued as a sort of guide-book at his birth-place.

Another unexplored side of his activities in India must be of absorbing interest to the historian ; it is the organisation of civil administration and industry in the extensive military fiefs granted to De Boigne by Sindhia in what is now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. We must not forget that the British administrative system, which came into force in these tracts after

the defeat of Daulat Rao Sindhia by Lord Lake in 1803, was superimposed upon the preceding French system. As for De Boigne's military organisation, a detailed and accurate study of it is possible from the long report submitted to Sir John Shore in 1793 and recently printed by me in the Poona Residency Correspondence series, volume one. This may be compared with the military system of Francois Raymond, the Nizam's French General, of which there is a published study in the same series, volume four. (See also the Despatches of Marquess Wellesley, edited by Martin.)

A correct chronology of De Boigne's life in India, mostly derived from contemporary Persian and Marathi despatches and news-letters, is given below, which will enable the English reader to rectify his biography as known at present in several particulars :—

Chronology of De Boigne's Life.

1751. Born.

1778. Arrived at Madras ; fought as a subaltern in the 6th Battalion (Baillie's) during Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic (1780). Resigned owing to alleged supersession.

1782. Arrived at Calcutta, made a short stay there. Went to Lucknow, was presented to the Nawab Wazir by Resident Middleton. Lodged there for five months with Polier, learning Persian.

Major James Browne arrived at Lucknow *en route* to Delhi, and De Boigne arranged to travel with him.

1783. Browne arrived at Agra on 23 February and interviewed the imperial Regent Mirza Md. Shafi. De Boigne, who had gone to Delhi alone, joined Browne at Agra, and is mentioned as living there in June.

At David Anderson's invitation, De Boigne joined him in Mahadji Sindhia's siege-camp before Gwalior. Gwalior fell on 31 July. On 2 November, David Anderson relinquished his Residency (to his brother James), took *congee* of Sindhia, and set off for Bengal with De Boigne. On 21 November the two reached Allahabad *via* Cawnpur.

1784. De Boigne accompanied Warren Hastings in his journey from Calcutta to Lucknow (arrival on 27 March).

After a fruitless journey to Jaipur, De Boigne returned to Agra and joined Browne, who was there with the Emperor (*c.* Sept.).

1785. Browne given *congee* by the Emperor on 19 April. De Boigne is taken into Apa Khande Rao's service, raises and trains two battalions, and follows Apa in the invasion of Bundelkhand.

1786. De Boigne at Kalinjar, writes on 3 July describing his hardships. Apa retreats to Gwalior in November.

1787. De Boigne (with 1,300 sepoys) joins Sindhia at Lalsot in the train of Apa Khande Rao on 26 June. Takes part in the battle of Tunga (miscalled Lalsot) on 28 July, and in the subsequent retreat to Alwar. Saves Sindhia at the battle of Sikandra with Ismail Beg Hamadani, 16 December.

1788. De Boigne takes (along with Lesteneau) a leading part in defeating Ismail Beg outside Agra on 18 June.

1789. De Boigne's brigade enlarged by Sindhia.

1790. De Boigne is sent under Jiva Dada Bakhshi against Ismail Beg on 15 April.

20 June—Victory at Patan.

12 September—Victory at Merta.

1791. 7 August.—De Boigne presented to Emperor Shah Alam II.

1792. 12 February.—De Boigne marries Moti Begam, the adopted daughter of Najaf Quli Khan's second wife, in Delhi.

16 April.—Najaf Quli Khan from Kanuda fort seeks refuge with De Boigne's army (under Perron) before its walls.

20 April.—De Boigne reaches Kanuda. Later De Boigne supports N. Q. Kh. with a monthly pension when kept a prisoner by Sindhia.

1793. 13 January.—De Boigne interviews Emperor.

1794. 12 February.—Mahadji Sindhia dies in Puna.

1796. February.—De Boigne bids farewell to his army and starts for Calcutta *via* Lucknow, in July reaches Calcutta. On c. 2 September, sails from Calcutta and reaches London in January next.

1830. 21 June, dies at Chambéry.

The historian Faqir Khair-ud-din Allahabadi thus narrates how he was instrumental in getting the impoverished, friendless and as yet obscure De Boigne admitted into the army of Sindhia.

(*Ibratnama*, my ms., ii. 123-125) :—

James Anderson, the British Resident with Sindhia, was a friend of De Boigne (because the latter was a *protege* of Warren Hastings who loved the Anderson family). He grieved that his efforts to get for De Boigne an employment in Sindhia's army by recommending him to some Maratha generals had failed. He told his Persian Secretary, Khair-ud-din, that he could not openly request Sindhia to engage this captain as he had received no authority from the Calcutta Council to do so, but that he would be happy if it could be done indirectly without his own name being brought in.

Khair-ud-din spoke to his friend Lal Muhammad Khan, who had great influence over Apa Khande Rao ; and Lal Muhammad addressed Apa thus : "Look here, you have raised an army as numerous as ants and locusts, but these men are utterly useless, without a stiffening of disciplined musketeers. A single British-trained and led sepoy battalion, when properly equipped and handled, can drive away your 40,000 horse and foot like so many crows and kites."

The same idea had been working in Apa's mind for some time past, and he was glad to find support. He asked Lal Muhammad where he could get an expert captain to raise and train sepoy battalions for him, and the latter advised him to go to Anderson, express his desire and beg his assistance in supplying this need of his army.

When Apa visited Anderson for this purpose, Khair-ud-din who had been pulling all these strings highly praised De Boigne. Lal Muhammad advised

Apa to go to Major Browne next day and request him to ask De Boigne, his guest, to join Apa's service. In Browne's tent De Boigne was introduced to Apa, who accepted all the conditions laid down by him. (This happened in December 1784, just after Mahadji Sindhia had been appointed imperial Regent.)

De Boigne asked for an advance of Rs. 50,000 for raising and equipping two battalions. Lal Muhammad, giving his personal security, induced Apa to pay De Boigne Rs. 8,000 in *hundi* on Lucknow bankers for the purchase of muskets of English make, Rs. 10,000 in *hundi* on bankers at Bhind for making equipments and necessary furniture, and Rs. 10,000 in *hundi* on Jhansi bankers for the purchase of red broad cloth (for the sepoys' uniforms).

In gratitude to Lal Muhammad, De Boigne appointed the Khan's retainers Mir Jamal Ali as his diwan and Mirza Ashraf Beg as commandant of one of the battalions and sent the last-named towards Bhind for recruiting sepoys and preparing accoutrements. A Maratha was deputed to Jhansi for buying broad cloth. De Boigne himself went to Lucknow and with Claud Martin's help bought muskets for two battalions, came back to Agra and engaged in enlisting recruits, drilling his men and teaching them new military tactics. At this time, Lal Muhammad got Rs. 10,000 more from Apa for De Boigne's personal needs. De Boigne, when his force was ready, marched into Bundelkhand and joined Apa Khande Rao (probably in October 1785) there.

Here ends Khair-ud-din's account. We have reason for believing that the body of European officers got together by René Madec, who had been transferred with Madec's army to the Gohad Rana's service and whose next chief was a Scotchman named Sangster, on finding themselves out of employment when René Madec's corps was dissolved, flocked to De Boigne and supplied him with a very able and experienced body of subalterns. One follower of De Boigne was mortally wounded at the battle of Merta ; his tomb stands on the bank of the small lake near that city ; in the inscription on it his name is given as CRELE de Bourbon.

Some Persian letters from De Boigne to Maratha officers at Kota and to the Raja of Jaipur have been preserved—one of them with De Boigne's signature on the cover in lieu of the seal " which was just then not at hand ". But these are mere business communications. The Gwalior archives do not possess a single despatch or important letter from the greatest of their foreign generals.

Transcripts from Records in the Jaipur State Archives.

(By Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh, D.Litt.)

In 1923, the Jaipur Government decided for the first time to get their old Persian records examined by an expert, and invited Sir Jadunath Sarkar to visit Jaipur in October for the purpose. It was but natural that the archives of a State, once ruled by great personalities like Man Singh, Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Sawai Jai Singh, should be rich in old Persian and Hindi records of great historical importance. Sir Jadunath after some work found a room in which many bundles of papers were lying heaped up in one corner, the exact contents of which were not known to any one ; some of the bundles contained small slips of brown paper tied together in packets. The undisturbed dust of centuries was removed and the bundles were eagerly opened ; the papers were flattened and carefully examined, and they turned out to be documents of real

historical value. Most unique among them were long slips of brown paper written in Persian and headed " Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla " referring to the reigns of Aurangzib and his successors. Sir Jadunath arranged these Akhbarats in their chronological order. These Akhbarats as well as many other important old Persian documents in the State archives were then partly catalogued also ; but another decade was yet to elapse before these unique records were to be carefully arranged and fully catalogued.

It was thus pre-eminently a discovery of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who was for the first time allowed to examine the archives and was also permitted to make copies of the historical documents preserved therein. The copies thus taken by Sir Jadunath were arranged and bound by him in two different sets of volumes.

His first set of seven volumes represents all the transcripts of the " Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla " of the reign of Aurangzib that he could get from Jaipur. These Akhbarats are the court-bulletins of Emperor Aurangzib. " They consist of small slips of brown paper, each briefly recording one day's occurrences at Court, *viz.*, the movements and doings of the Emperors, the time of holding Court, the appointments made, the persons presented or given congee; the presents offered to the Emperor and the gifts bestowed by him, summaries of the dispatches received and orders passed on them, etc.". In many cases the bulletin for a single day runs into more than one slip, specially when there was much of importance to note. At times the same events were reported on more than one day, if there were any additional details known or any fresh orders were given in respect to the same event.

These seven volumes supplement the " Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla " in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, which too once formed part of the Jaipur records. Col. James Tod took those Akhbarats away on loan from the Jaipur State and before his death made a gift of them to the Society. The Akhbarats, which were thus acquired by the Society, are for the following years only of Aurangzib's reign : Years 3, 4, 8—15, 17, 20—22 (the number of slips ranging from 1 to 61), 36—40, and 42—49. Of these only six years (38, 43—48) have records for more than 200 days each ; the year 39 has 101 slips, and others less than 71 each. There are also bulletins of Md. Azam Shah's viceroyalty in Gujrat (years 46—49 of Aurangzib's reign, 271 slips), and of the second year of Bahadur Shah's reign (March 4—7, 1708 A.D., 4 slips only).

The " Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla ", which are still in the archives of the Jaipur State, exactly resemble those in the London collection in form, size and contents. They not only include many additional slips for the years 36—40 of Aurangzib's reign, but also fill some important big gaps in the London collection ; we thus get in the Jaipur archives the Akhbarats for the *jalusi sanch* 24-25, 29—33 and 50-51, which are not at all represented in the collection of the Society. In the Jaipur State archives Sir Jadunath came across Akhbarats of the reigns of Aurangzib's first three successors also, but he had instructed the copyist to transcribe for him only those Akhbarats which related to the reign of Aurangzib. These transcripts have been bound in seven volumes, which in all cover more than 1,900 pages of foolscap quarto size. He has also made a complete set of transcripts of all the Akhbarats in the London collection also, which run into some 20 volumes(1), and thus his collection has the unique distinction of being the only one in the world, which possesses the completest set of copies of all the available Akhbarats of Aurangzib's reign.

(1) Out of these 20 volumes of transcripts of the Akhbarats in the R. A. S.'s collection only one containing the Akhbarats for the years 36 and 37 has been copied out for my collection. I intend to secure transcripts or micro-films of the other 19 volumes also.

The importance of these seven volumes, containing transcripts of the Akhbarats still preserved in the archives of the Jaipur State, as a first-rate primary source for the reign of Aurangzib, cannot be over-emphasised. The Jaipur collection begins with the year 24, and in the year following the Emperor went down to the Deccan to conduct the war in person. Even there he used to receive very promptly all the detailed reports of the happenings in the various parts of the Empire. Thus these Akhbarats contain much fresh, first-hand information about the affairs in the Deccan, such as the wars with the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur, the movements of the Marathas, and the doings of the Imperialists. The events of other provinces in the distant north were also reported ; the Akhbarats, therefore, contain the authentic official version of the various notable events.

The second set of eighteen volumes covers more than 6,000 pages and contains the copies of letters, Imperial farmans, *nishans, hasb-ul-hukms,* vakil-reports, and the correspondence between the Jaipur rulers and the officials of the Empire or those of their own State. The first two volumes relate to the years 1640—1660, while the remaining sixteen volumes give papers relating to the period 1680—1707. In the various volumes there are to be found some papers of the reigns of Aurangzib's successors intermixed with those relating to that monarch. Obviously enough the copyists could not find out whether the papers referred to Aurangzib or to his successors. Sir Jadunath has given dates of these papers also, but it is very necessary that all such papers of later years be copied out together in a separate volume.

Prof. Sri Ram Sharma of Lahore read a paper before the Commission last year describing at some length the nature of the different classes of papers and documents which were collected in some of these volumes ; he also pointed out the great importance of this source of information for students of the Mughal period. Hence I have contented myself with giving a rough contents-list of the various volumes in the collection of Sir Jadunath Sarkar as Appendix A to this paper.

Sir Jadunath has carefully studied all these volumes and has decided the dates of practically all the letters, specially of those relating to the reign of Aurangzib ; he had even written abridged notes of all the important facts reported in the Akhbarats ; but naturally he could not use the vast amount of the new information that has thus been made known to him from this source in the editions of his Aurangzib volumes issued before 1926. He has now obviously left it for his students and successors to make fuller use of this material. When writing the section on Sulaiman Shukoh's campaign of 1657 against Shuja in his work on Dara Shikoh (Ch. IX, section 1, pages 224—243), Dr. K. R. Qanungo utilized the relevant Jaipur letters. Prof. Sri Ram Sharma of Lahore has tried to study the earlier volumes, but due to the limited time that he could spend with Sir Jadunath in Darjeeling, he could merely scratch the surface of this vast mine of information.

It would need years of hard labour to study carefully all these volumes and to utilize the variety of information contained therein. Sir Jadunath has given us a monumental work on the political history of India during the latter half of the 17th century, but the cultural history of the period, when the Mughal Empire had reached its zenith and a crisis had appeared in the cultural development of the Indian nation due to the puritanic views of the Emperor, is yet to be written. Apart from the additional details of the political events and court-affairs, these twenty-five volumes are bound to prove an inexhaustible mine of information of every class—social, political, economical, administrative

and cultural. The result could thus be quite unique in mediæval Indian history, which has hitherto been a record of war, bloodshed and dynastic changes, and, unlike the histories of European countries, concerned hardly at all with the growth of institutions, social life and the actual operation of the administration.

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And it has been my good luck to take up the work of securing transcripts from the records in the Jaipur State archives just where Sir Jadunath Sarkar had left it. The Jaipur Government was kind enough to give the necessary permission, so that I have now secured copies of the "Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla" and other important historical documents covering the decade immediately following the death of Aurangzib (1707—1719), which Sarkar did not care to acquire. The scribes employed by me there began with the Akhbarat of Saneh 40 (1696 A.D.), and it has resulted in some papers being copied once again for my collection. When Prince Bidar Bakht was the Governor of Malwa, Sawai Jai Singh was there along with him (August, 1704—April, 1706), and I have thus secured some waqayah papers relating to Malwa during the year 1705. There are some papers of earlier date also.

At the time of Aurangzib's death the writer of these daily bulletins was at the Imperial Court in Ahmadnagar, and hence when Azam Shah, the second surviving son of Aurangzib, proclaimed himself Emperor on March 4, 1707, the official recorder of events faithfully noted the accession of the new Emperor, the reading of the Khutba in his name, and went on to write the Azam Shahi Akhbarat marked *Julusi Saneh* 1. These Akhbarats begin from March 4, 1707, and go on to report the details of the march of Azam to the north, his preparations to meet his elder brother then moving from Lahore towards Agra, and finally they fully narrate the various appointments, promotions and rewards ordered by Azam during the few months of his nominal reign. Azam Shah's Akhbarats go up to May 13, 1707; though it was June 8, 1707, when Azam Shah was killed fighting on the battle-field of Jajau. These Akhbarats will definitely supplement our knowledge about the affairs of Azam, which have been described at length by Kamraj in his two works, "Azam-ul-harb", a detailed and circumstantial history of this short reign (Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 1899), and his later and more celebrated work "Ibrat-Namah" (Ind. Office Ms. No. 391).

On the day following the victory at Jajau Bahadur Shah ascended the throne. The only contemporary detailed history of the reign is "Bahadur Shah Namah" by Niamat Khan *alias* Danishmand Khan, which covers only the first two years of the reign. The other contemporary authorities for the reign are :—"Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan" by Iradat Khan, "Ibrat-Namah" by Kamraj (I. O. L., I. Ms. No. 391), and "Ibrat-Namah" by Mirza Muhammad (I. O. L., I, Ms. No. 392); but all these are either personal memoirs or private histories by persons who were not so intimately connected with the affairs of the Empire as to know the inner details of the Imperial affairs. Moreover, all these histories merely concentrate on the doings of the Emperor, the affairs of northern India and the important happenings at Court, and hence are not very useful for students working over the provincial histories. Again, the details of many an event are also not very correctly recorded as private persons could not generally know the exact details of such events. Fortunately, the "Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla" referring to the reign of Bahadur Shah are very complete and cover more than 1,000 folios. They begin from June 12, 1707 (Rabi-ul-awwal 21, Friday), just four days after the accession of Bahadur Shah, and go on to February 13, 1712 (Muharram 16), which was practically

the last day of his giving audience. One curious fact about these Bahadur Shahi Akhbarats is that though Zil Hijja 18 was settled as the official date of Bahadur Shah's accession, and hence of the beginning of a new *Julusi Saneh* (Irvin, I, 135), in these Akhbarats every new *Julusi Saneh* begins full seventeen days earlier, *i.e.*, from Zil Hijja 1.

The short reign of Jahandar Shah is also very well represented. The Akhbarats of that reign begin from Safar 20, Saneh 1 (March 18, 1712), the day when Rafi-us-shan, the last of the brother-competitors of Jahandar Shah, was killed. They go up to December 5, 1712 (Ziqad 16), when Jahandar Shah was marching towards Agra to oppose the advancing forces of Farukhsiyar. The Akhbarats reporting events of these nine months cover full 160 folios.

When Jahandar Shah ascended the throne at Lahore, Farukhsiyar was at Patna. On March 27, 1712 (Safar 29) he heard of his father's death and immediately he proclaimed himself the Emperor, and continued to hold his own court even though Jahandar Shah was still quite secure on the throne at Delhi. There are five sheets reporting the events of Farukhsiyar's court even prior to his victory over Jahandar Shah at Agra. The Akhbar of Farukhsiyar's court, dated December 31, 1712 (Zilhijja 13), refers to the victory gained by him over Jahandar Shah, and from that day onwards the records of Farukhsiyar's court are numerous. The remaining three months of the first year of the reign cover about 60 folios. The number of Akhbarats referring to the events of the years 2, 3 and 4 of Farukhsiyar's reign is also large ; they supply us with a very detailed and accurate account of the various events during these years. With the opening of the fifth year the number of the Akhbarats supplied to me begins to decline.

The deficiency of the Akhbarats relating to the latter half of Farukhsiyar's reign is, however, greatly made up by the vast number of miscellaneous papers. There are the waqiyah papers referring to the events in the camp of Jai Singh's army while on its march during the years 5 and 6 of Farukhsiyar's reign. News-letters giving details of the happenings in some districts of Malwa are also to be had. But the most important of all these are the letters and reports addressed to or by Jai Singh. With the accession of Farukhsiyar the importance and prestige of Jai Singh increased, and his correspondence with the Imperial officials at Delhi and his own subordinates within his dominions began to be more and more voluminous. The copies of these letters, vakil-reports, *arz-dasht, hasb-ul-hukms* and Imperial farmans cover over 600 folios, the majority of which refers to the reign of Farukhsiyar.

The official year of the reign of Farukhsiyar commenced from Safar 29, but in the Akhbarats no date has been consistently adhered to in recording the beginning of a new year of the reign. In some cases a new year has been marked from Rabiulawwal 2, while in others the change has not been noted till after Rabiulawwal 5. In making these copies, specially in the case of those referring to the reign of Farukhsiyar, the copyists have committed many blunders about the dates. They have not only misread the days of the week but in a few cases have also made mistakes in reading or copying the correct name of the month. In these Akhbarats as well as in other official correspondence of those days the *Hijri* year was ordinarily not mentioned ; the *Julusi Saneh* alone was given. The Akhbarats and other papers supplied to me can possibly belong to one reign or another, and hence the exact date and the name of the reigning Emperor can not be correctly decided without a thorough study of the contents of each document.

The main volume of the transcripts made for me practically ends with the reign of Farukhsiyar. There are, however, some Akhbarats which refer to the events of the years 5, 9 & 15 of the reign of Muhammad Shah, but the number is not considerable. The very fact that few Akhbarats of a date later than 1719 A.D. are available tempts one to hope that a more thorough search in the archives of the Jaipur State might result in the discovery of more Akhbarats of Muhammad Shah's reign.

It has not been possible for me to go fully through the entire contents of these transcripts ; I have gathered all the available additional details about the provincial history of Malwa and the result has not only been encouraging but most amazing as well. For the first time we know about the various deputies of Prince Jahandar Shah, the absentee Governor of Malwa, during the reign of Bahadur Shah. The affairs of Rampura and the increasing power of Ratan Singh (Islam Khan) are prominently mentioned. We also learn that the battle of Sunera, which resulted in the defeat and death of Ratan Singh, was fought on November 8, 1712 A.D. Again, it is definitely confirmed that during the years 1707—1719, Chhatra Sal Bundela continued to be a loyal, obedient and helpful noble of the Empire ; he was not only sent against the Sikhs in 1710, but was summoned more than once to oppose the Marathas in Malwa.

The affairs of a mere provincial interest have also not been overlooked, and these transcripts throw a good deal of light even on obscure matters, such as the last years of Chhatra Sal Rathore of Ratlam, the troubles between the surviving sons of Chhatra Sal Rathore, and the early career of Dost Muhammad Khan Ruhila in Malwa. Many minor internal disturbances are as well reported ; and the detailed accounts given in these documents have made it possible for me to reconstruct the narrative of the Maratha invasions on Malwa during these momentous years, which has been published in the Sardesai Commemoration volume.

It is evident that these records are not only important to a scholar working on the history of the falling Mughal Empire, but are of equally great value to students working at provincial histories also. The references to events in the provinces are many and cover almost all the provinces, even Bengal and Kashmir. The affairs in the Deccan and the struggles between the Mughal and the Maratha forces during these years are reported at length. It would amply repay the labour of any student of history to study these transcripts along with the recently published records in Marathi.

These volumes of Jaipur transcripts for the first time make available to students of Indian history the Akhbarats, documents and papers which had formerly been stored up in the State archives, unseen and unexamined by any historian. It is obvious that in future no student working on this period of Indian history can afford to ignore this new and yet most important source of historical information. A thorough study of this important source will not only overthrow many of our age-old theories and beliefs about this period, but also make our knowledge about this period more complete. These daily court-bulletins, official and private letters, *hasb-ul-hukms, arz-dasht* and farmans throw new light on the events of these years ; they supply many of the hitherto unknown, minor and yet very important and vital points in the history of the Mughal Empire ; they complete official details and correct many inaccuracies of the various secondary historical sources.

The copies of the records that have hitherto been supplied to me cover more than 3,000 folios of foolscap quarto size written on both sides. They are being chronologically arranged and then being bound into suitable volumes, a complete list of the contents of which is being given as Appendix B to this paper. Finally, I would like to add that it shall ever be a matter of genuine pleasure for me to let earnest students of Indian history working at this period examine and make full use of these volumes of Jaipur transcripts.

APPENDIX A.

Transcripts in the Library of Sir Jadunath Sarkar at Darjeeling.

I. "Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla", Imperial Court Bulletins of the reign of Aurangzib .. .. pp. 1948

Vol. 1.—Aurangzib, years 24 and 25 .. .. .. pp. 542

*Vol. 2.—Aurangzib, years 28—33 (pp. 138); along with some other papers of 1689-92 (pp. 139-146) .. .. .. pp. 146

*Vol. 3.—Aurangzib, years 36-40 (pp. 1-220); along with some other papers (pp. 221-224) .. .. pp. 224

Vol. 4.—Aurangzib, year 38 .. .. pp. 542

Vol. 5.—Aurangzib, year 39 .. .. pp. 199

Vol. 6.—Aurangzib, year 40 .. .. pp. 92

Vol. 7.—Aurangzib, years 50-51 .. .. pp. 193

II. Bound volumes of letters, news-sheets, reports and other miscellaneous papers .. .. pp. 6061

*Vol. 1.—Letters from the Mughal Court, 1650-59 .. .. pp. 173

*Vol. 2.—Letters from Imperial princes to the Jaipur Raja, 1640-1650 .. .. pp. 405

*Vol. 3.—Letters from others to the Jaipur Rajas, including court-news, 1680-1708 .. .. pp. 300

*Vol. 4.—News from Bidar Bakht's durbar, etc., 1702 .. .. pp. 138

*Vol. 5.—Letters from high officials of the Empire to the Jaipur Rajas, 1692-1706 .. .. pp. 420

*Vol. 6—Letters to the Jaipur Rajas from Afridis, etc., 1684-1688 .. .. pp 472

*Vol. 7.—Letters to the Maharaja from the Jaipur Vakils at the Imperial Darbar, Kesho Rai, etc., 1703-1712 (pp. 1-192): with Hindi or Dingal letters (pp. 192-233); and letters from Afridis in Persian. 1684 (pp. 234-362) .. .. .. pp. 362

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*These volumes have already been copied out for my library. The remaining ones are also being copied. It is expected that by the end of the year 1939 all the volumes would have been copied out. When making these transcripts for my library all the marginal notes and dates suggested by Sir Jadunath in his Mss. are also carefully noted and copied out.

*Vol. 8.—Letters from state servants and vakils, Meghraj, etc., 1692-1707	pp. 384
*Vol. 9.—Imperial Letters to Bishun Singh, and other letters, with Hindi letters	pp. 399
*Vol. 10.—Letters to Raja from Meghraj, 1698-1707	pp. 444
*Vol. 11.—Letters to Rajas, 1690-93, 1706-07	pp. 304
*Vol. 12.—Letters of Rajas to the Emperor, the Jat War, Miscellaneous, etc., 1698-1705, 1725-27	pp. 211
*Vol. 13.—Letters to Sawai Jai Singh II, Munshi Kamal Nayan's letters, Hindi Letters	pp. 158
*Vol. 14.—Nobles' Letters to the Jaipur Rajas. Also letters of Julusi Saneh 4 and 5 (Bahadur Shahi ?)	pp. 592
*Vol. 15.—Letters to Raja, 1701-05 (pp. 1-79) and Akhbarat of Bahadur Shah I's reign, Julusi Saneh 3 (pp. 80-109) ..	pp. 109
Vol. 16.—Dastaks and other papers, accounts, etc., 1679-1705 ..	pp. 427
Vol. 17.—Pancholi Jagjivandas's letters to Raja, from 35th year Julusi of Aurangzib up to 1695 (pp. 1-196); and Hindi (Dingal) letters (pp. 197-286)	pp. 286
Vol. 18.—Letters to Rajas from servants and petty nobles (1710-?)	pp. 438

APPENDIX B.

Additional Transcripts in my Library at Sitamau.

I. Aurangzib's reign—Last Years—

1. Waqayah Papers		ff. 147
(*a*) Year 38	ff. 3	
(*b*) Year 40	ff. 1	
(*c*) Year 41	ff. 1	
(*d*) Year 49 (Bhorasa)	ff. 60	
(*e*) Year 49 (Unhel)	ff. 82	
2. "Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla"		ff. 146
(*a*) Year 40	ff. 32	
(*b*) Year 50	ff. 31	
(*c*) Year 51	ff. 83	

II. Azam Shah's reign, Saneh (March-May, 1707)—

"Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla"	ff. 70

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*These volumes have already been copied out for my library. The remaining ones are also being copied. It is expected that by the end of the year 1939 all the volumes would have been copied out. When making these transcripts for my library all the marginal notes and dates suggested by Sir Jadunath in his Mss. are also carefully noted and copied out.

III. Bahadur Shah's reign, "Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla"— .. ff. 1004

1. Year 1 .. .. ff. 226
2. Year 2 .. .. ff. 136
3. Year 3 .. .. ff. 101
4. Year 4 .. .. ff. 230
5. Year 5 .. .. ff. 263
6. Year 6 .. .. ff. 48

IV. Jahandar Shah's reign, "Akbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla"—
Year 1 (1712) .. .. ff. 160

V. Farukhsiyar's reign—

A. "Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla" .. .. ff. 1088

1. Year 1 .. .. ff. 64
2. Year 2 .. .. ff. 281
3. Year 3 .. .. ff. 260
4. Year 4 .. .. ff. 292
5. Year 5 .. .. ff. 102
6. Year 6 .. .. ff. 18
7. Year 7 .. .. ff. 65
8. Year 8 .. .. ff. 6

B. Other Papers .. .. ff. 135

1. Akhbar, Pargana Hodal, Saneh 4 .. .. .. ff. 4
2. Letters from the Emperor, Year 4 .. .. .. ff. 14
3. Waqayah, Suba Malwa. Year 4 .. .. ff. 11
4. Waqayah, Fauj Maharaja, Year 5 .. .. .. ff. 26
5. Waqayah, Fauj Maharaja, Year 6 .. .. .. ff. 75
6. Sawaneh Shahjahanabad, Year 6 .. .. .. ff. 1
7. Akhbar, Subah Malwa, Year 6 .. .. ff. 1
8. Akhbar, Chakla Mathura, Year 6 .. .. .. ff. 13
9. Waqayah, Subah Malwa, Year 7 .. .. .. ff. 7

VI. Muhammad Shah's reign, Early Years—

"Akhbarat-i-Durbar-i-Mualla" .. .. ff. 35

1. Year 5 .. .. ff. 12
2. Year 9 .. .. ff. 13
3. Year 15 .. .. ff. 10

*VII. Miscellaneous papers of the last years of Aurangzib's reign and the reigns of his successors including the early years of Muhammad Shah's reign .. .. ff. 515

1. Maharajah's letters .. .. ff. 318
2. Vakil reports .. .. ff. 64
3. Miscellaneous letters, *Arz-dasht*, *hasb-ul-hukms*, etc. .. .. ff. 133

*The papers in this bundle are now being chronologically arranged. After that is done the transcripts will be divided and bound into suitable volumes.

Sriranga, the last Ruler of the Vijayanagar Empire, in European Records.

(By Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph.D.)

The last emperor of Vijayanagar is known to history by the name Srirangarayalu, the third of the rulers of the name, according to historians, and actually the sixth of the name according to the fuller dynastic list. His period of rule extended from A.D. 1642 to A.D. 1672, although his dates in inscriptions appear as late as A.D. 1681. The actual imperial activity of this ruler even extends to some twenty years previous to his accession, so that we might say that this particular personality was actively at work for well-nigh half a century. He was directly descended from Ramaraya, who was overthrown in the battle of Rakshasatangadi, misnamed Talikota in older histories. The combined armies of the Bahmani Sultans met the Vijayanagar forces at this place, some fifty miles southwards from Talikota actually, and about twenty five miles away from the south bank of the Krishna. The Vijayanagar forces were defeated after a day-long battle and broke up on hearing that Ramaraja himself fell, having been taken prisoner and beheaded, according to one story at any rate. The Vijayanagar forces abandoned the position, and there was nothing to prevent the Muhammadan forces marching on the capital ; but they took some time, and then proceeded into the capital, were in occupation for a while searching for treasures, and went back. The next brother Tirumala retired from Vijayanagar, carrying all the treasure that he could carry to Penugonda, where he ensconced himself in safety in the strong fortress. He soon recovered from the damages resulting from the defeat and was able not only to exercise authority over the whole of the Vijayanagar empire, but could even turn the balance against the Muhammadan neighbours in the north much as his brother did before. After a few years of reign, he passed away and was succeeded by two of his sons, one after the other, Sriranga and Venkatapati.

The fall of Vijayanagar opened the way to the south for the Muhammadans, and Golkonda showed more activity in taking advantage of this by moving southwards across their frontier. Both Śrīranga and Venkaṭapati managed to keep them within their own limits and pass the empire almost intact to their successors, except for one province, the viceroyalty of Śrīrangapaṭam, which had been taken by Rāja Oḍaiyar, who set up rule on his own account over the conquered territory after having obtained the sanction of the emperor Venkaṭapati, and thus creating a title to rule his conquered territory. Emperor Venkaṭapati died childless as it is commonly believed, and, owing to the ambition of one of his four queens, a disputed succession followed. She put forward claims in favour of the child she brought up as her own, and received the support of her powerful brother Gobbūru Jaggarāya. This was the signal for the viceroys and governors to take sides as against Venkata's own nominee, his nephew Ranga, son of his elder brother Rāmarāya, who was viceroy of Srīrangapaṭam. This war of succession resulted ultimately in favour of one of the children of this nephew, whose whole family had been massacred by the malcontents led by Jaggarāya. This prince Rama by name happened to be a young boy of about ten at the time of the battle. When he succeeded and took his place actually on the throne, he would not have been very much older. The discontent among the powerful feudatories only grew worse as the war of succession resulted in a victory for this prince, chiefly through the exertions of the Tanjore Nayak among the viceroys, and

a loyal chieftain, the Velugoti chief, Yāchamanāyaka. This last had actually to carry on the government for the young prince, and all the prejudices against him of course found vent in opposition. His reign was therefore one of wars essentially, Yāchamanāyaka having had to fight constantly to bring the various governors and provinces near the headquarters to a sense of loyalty, neglecting for the moment the greater viceroys at distances. The wars had been so constant and so uncertain in results that, in A.D. 1622, the young ruler had to look about and nominate, from the collaterals, two princes, descendants of the great Rama Raya who might well succeed him in case anything should happen to him. This was a wise step at the time, but did not prove quite so happy in its ultimate consequences. The young ruler Rama had to struggle hard during the next six or seven years, and ultimately managed to bring the central block of the empire under his control, the distant viceroys maintaining a doubtful allegiance. When in the next year or two he died, the imperial throne passed on to one of his nominees, the other nominee bearing his own share of rule. These two were descendants of Rāmarāya, who fell in the battle of Rākshasatangaḍi. Among his children there were a number, and the first nominee of Rama was a grandson and the second a great grandson of the great Rama. Therefore they stood in the relation of uncle and nephew. In carrying on the administration, the actual ruler entrusted it to two powerful officers of his who happened to be related to him as brothers-in-law holding at the same time important governments round about the headquarters of the empire, Venkaṭa and Ayyapa of the Dāmarla family. The emperor's nephew Srīranga, the other nominee, however was appointed to the charge of the territory immediately north of those of the powerful brothers-in-law, and involved as its responsibility the defending of the frontiers against Golkonda. Srīranga seems to have had his headquarters at Chandragiri. The emperor himself was living at Narayanavaram, and his government extended down to the coast, so that the whole of the Golkonda frontier was directly Srīranga's charge. He was ruling this part effectively and keeping the enemy out from advancing into the imperial territory. But the relation between the emperor and this nephew of his was perhaps not quite cordial owing perhaps to the influence of the brothers-in-law, whose policy, as we could understand it, perhaps did not meet with the approval of young Srīranga. Under Venkaṭa the empire underwent a visible decline. Perhaps he was not entirely and altogether responsible for it; but as ruler the responsibility would be thrown on him, and at least so did Srīranga. He was apparently so dissatisfied that we have an inscriptional record of Srīranga of 1638 where he claims to be ruling on his own account as it were, while yet Venkaṭa was alive. The date of this record which comes from Tirupati, almost Sriranga's capital, indicates perhaps a resolution already formed, to carry out a policy for the empire of his own notwithstanding the fact that he was not as yet the actual ruler. This state of things continued till the death of his uncle in A.D. 1642 when Sriranga succeeded to the throne, there being a very considerable body of important officials and chieftains opposed to his succession. That was the beginning of the trouble internally.

The advance of Golkonda, and latterly also of Bijapur, into what constituted the territory of the empire was really matter that called for imperial attention if the empire was to remain one whole. The Mughal advance in the Dakhan resulted in the abolition of the Ahmadnagar kingdom, in the conquest of which Shah Jahan took assistance from Bijapur as well. When, from out of the territories of Ahmadnagar, he resolved to form a Mughal viceroyalty of the Dakhan, he imposed a treaty upon

the southern states of Bijapur and Golkonda to keep them at peace with the new viceroyalty, and thus set them free for more active operations on the southern side within the territories of the empire of Vijayanagar. This change came about in the last years of Venkaṭa, and the efforts of Srīranga for a more active policy almost about the same time gives us a clear indication that he understood the situation and wanted to take such action as would save the empire from destruction then imminent. His efforts therefore primarily were to bring about an understanding among the greater viceroys and bring them under his own control, so that the resources of the empire as a whole might be put against the aggressions of the Muhammadans as the only possible means of saving the empire. This great effort was Srīranga's, and he struggled for thirty years to carry this noble ambition of his into actual execution.

It may be said, however, that, notwithstanding his great activity in such a good cause, the country sources of information regarding him are not many, and we are driven to the comparatively scanty resources of having to pick up stray details mostly from hostile sources in regard to Srīranga's imperial career. Among these the European records stand out as being not definitely hostile to the emperor, and may be regarded as more or less impartial records of events that came to the notice of the Company's servants, located in the very midst of the empire, the English at Fort St. George, the Portuguese at San Thome, the Dutch at Pulicat, the Jesuits at Trichinopoly and the Danes at Tranquebar. Excepting the Danes there are records left by the other four, though all of them as yet not available to us in a form for use. Referring to the years 1638 onwards, though the emperor was Venkaṭa, the administration is clearly said to have been in the hands of Dāmarla Venkaṭa. In a list compiled in Fort St. George in 1750 of documents, the firman conveying the grant of Madras is noted as having been given by Dāmarla Muddu Venkaṭapa Nāyaka, son of Dāmarla Chennama Nāyaka, the grand Vizier of the aforesaid sovereign (*i.e.*, the Chandragiri Raja) and lord general of Karnāṭakā. The Dutch Dagh-Register for 1643-44 notes it that he was governor of a district round Madras, the yearly income of which is set down as six lacs of Pagodas; according to another account nine lacs. He had a brother, by name Aiyappa Nāyaka, who is stated in an earlier volume of the same series as the brother-in-law of the king. So in the last years of Venkaṭa's rule, these brothers-in-law carried on the administration in the name of the emperor. The elder brother was governor of the province called Wandiwash, while the younger brother held a subordinate government under that elder brother. Venkaṭa's government of Wandiwash included both the British Fort St. George and the Dutch Pulicat, not to mention the Portuguese San Thome. There is an interesting record which finds note in the English Factories in India, volume for 1642-45 :—" The Golkonda army had overrun part of his territory and the rest including Armagon itself had been occupied by a neighbouring Nayak, to whom apparently the defence of the frontier had been entrusted by his uncle, Venkaṭapati, the king of Vijayanagar. At the beginning of October, the king died and, after a short delay, this nephew was elevated to the throne as Srirangarayalu, though many of the other Nayaks were opposed to his succession and gave him great deal of trouble. This is followed by another passage where the Golkonda forces are seen to be in occupation of the territory round Armagon :—" The fear is expressed that the whole of the region might soon become subject to Muhammadan rule. The Nayak of Armagon is absolutely beaten out of all his country, it being possessed part by the king of Golkonda people and the

major part by the Rayalwar. The Moors have encamped themselves, or rather seated themselves for the war, at a place called Cowle Geldancke, the chiefest place in all that country, and Rayalwar hath a strong garrison at Venkatagiri and Armagon. Indeed, we are of opinion that the Moors will have all this country ere many years; for what with the King of Bijapur on one side and the King of Golkonda on the other, the Gentues themselves being divided among themselves, it is even impossible their country can continue ". This information is also found in other records of the time. A letter dated November 5, 1642, contains the following statement. Speaking of the investments of the Dutch at Bantam, Cogan and others at Fort St. George wrote to the Company at home that they will not be as large as was expected, as they could not sell some of the commodities " By reason of the wars, which now upon the matter is ended among the Gentues within themselves, by the death of the old King. What the Moors and Jentues will do, time must show ".[1] In regard to the death of the king, the following note is extracted from the Batavia Dagh-Register, 1643-44, recording[2] receipt of intelligence from Pulicat that the Karnatik king Venkatapati was dead after lying sick of a fever for five or six days, and that his body had been burnt on October 12 (N. S.) at Narrewarom (Narayanavaram, fifty miles west of Pulicat); that he left no children except an illegitimate son, who by the law of the land could not succeed; and that after such dispute his brother's son, Sriranga Rayalu, had been elevated to the throne on October 29 (N. S.); but many of the chiefs were displeased at this choice. A letter from Pulicat to the commander of the Dutch fleet off Goa (Hague Transcripts; series i, vol. XII, No. 402) gives the date of Venkaṭapati's death as October 10 (N. S.). This extract from the Dagh-Register gives us precise information as to the date of the death of Venkaṭapati and the circumstance under which Srīranga Rāyalu succeeded to the throne as emperor of Vijayanagar.

The conditions under which Srīranga came to the throne were hardly propitious for a peaceful and successful reign for him. The very accession of this prince was displeasing to an influential party at court, notwithstanding the fact that he was one of the two nominees who, along with the old ruler, was selected by emperor Rama to succeed him. He seems already to have developed a policy of his own to counteract the advance of Golkonda forces, and we have already noted from his inscriptional records that, as early as 1638, he gave himself the titles of ruler in his own right from the districts on the northern frontier to which he had been appointed governor. This should have made him objectionable certainly to those who were exercising authority and occupying positions of importance under Venkaṭa, particularly the Dāmarla brothers, Venkaṭa and Ayya. These brothers could not have welcomed a masterful successor like Srīranga. He probably made use of his position to undermine Srīranga's authority by intriguing with Golkonda which Srīranga could hardly be expected to condone. Srīranga naturally threw him into prison, and his brother Ayyappa raised forces and collected together all those feudatories who were friendly to bring about the release of his brother, and the Company's servants expected Venkata to be released on this account. A letter dated December 29, 1642, notes " The[3] wars and broils increasing in this country, and now (by reason of our great Naick's imprisonment) drawing near to us, we lately raised a third bulwark of turf; and

1 The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 76.
2 *Ibid*, p. 67.
3 *Ibid*, p. 70.

wanting guns to mount thereon, have resolved that the *Advice* shall spare us four minion for that purpose, because there is no danger of enemy in her way to Bantam, and when she comes there she may be again supplied ". In regard to the imprisonment itself, the Dutch Dagh-Register makes the following plain statement :—" Damarla[4] Venkaṭappa had been detected in intrigues with Golkonda and had thereupon been imprisoned by the new king and deprived of all his territory, with the exceptions of Poonamallee and the surrounding districts." Another letter dated January 4, 1643, recounts the difficulties for advancing money :—" This[5] country being all in broils, the old King of Karnatak being dead. So is the Naick of Armagon, whose country is all in the hands of the Moors, and (*sic*) who will ere long by all likelihood be masters of all this country ; for our Naick, not finding the respect from the new king as he expected, did make profer to assist the Moors ; but ere he could bring his treason about, it was discovered (and) he was apprehended by the king who hath seized great part of his country. But we believe he will be forced suddenly to restore it again and release him, for four Nayak's brother and kinsmen are levying an army for his rescue who, with the help of the Moors on the other side (who are within half a day's journey of each other) will force his liberty or ruin the whole kingdom ". We find an explanation of this as usual in the Dagh-Register, which just reports that the Muhammadans had just occupied Venkaṭagiri and that Dāmarla Venkaṭa had already been released. The same letter quoted above follows with what took place subsequently :—" From Pulicat[6] about a month since, a piscash was sent by the hand of their merchant Moileya (Mallaiye, *alias* Chinana Chitty) unto the present King of Karnatt, estimated to be worth 4,000 (pagodas).[7] The Portugauls from St. Thoma have likewise been with their piscash with the King ; but it comes far shorter of the former, for all that they carried could not amount to full 200 pagodas. Somewhat is expected from us ; but until our Naique and the King be either reconciled or absolutely outed, we intend to stand upon our guard and keep what we have ". From the same Dagh-Register, Sir William Foster extracts the following :—" The Wars[8] in these parts made them glad to entertain some of their men as soldiers ; for the Moores but five weeks past had advanced with their armies within three miles of Pulicat, and sent unto the Dutch Governor to surrender up the castle ; and we did suddenly expect the same. But shortly after the Jentues came down with a great power, gave the Moores battle, routed their army and put the Moores to flight beyond Armagon where they are now agathering ahead again ". Some explanation of this is found in a letter from the governor of Pulicat to Batavia a few months later :—" The [9] Dutch merchants at Pulicat wrote, in January, 1643, that Malaya (see p. 50), having been summoned to Tirupati by Sri Ranga Rayalu, had been graciously received and given the charge of certain districts ; and that Gardenijs, the Governor of Pulicat, had taken the opportunity to send a complimentary letter by him to the new king, accompanied by the gift of a fine telescope (*Dagh-Register*, 1643-44, p. 244). He reported that on returning[10] to Pulicat from Masuli-

4 The English Factories in India, 1642-45, p. 70.

5 *Ibid*, p. 80.

6 *Ibid*, p. 81.

7 *Ibid*, p. 81, Note 1.

8 *Ibid*, pp. 193-94 and Note ; Date September 8th, 1644.

9 *Ibid*, p. 81.

10 *Ibid*, pp. 193-94 and Note.

patam on July 15 (N. S.) he found that the forces of the King of Golkonda, under 'Casy Aly (Kasim Ali), had subdued the whole of the neighbouring towns without opposition and were demanding the submission of Pulicat itself, promising at the same time that the Dutch should retain all their privileges. Of this demand no notice was taken, and the invaders, finding the fortress amply equipped, contented themselves with a demonstration at a safe distance. The Nayak of Gingi, who was then in rebellion against Srīranga, advanced with the intention of joining the Golkonda army; whereupon the King recalled Kistappa Nayaka, who was operating against the Gingi chief, and restored Chinnana to favour. Kistappa fell unexpectedly on the Moors and completely routed them, killing their commander and several other men of importance." In explanation of this comes in the following statement indicating how Mallaiya came into the position of influence almost in the place of Dāmarla Venkata :—" Our neighbours the Dutch have been long a projecting and now they have wrought it that Mollay, their merchant, is like to be as powerful with this King as the Serkayle (Sar-i-Kel) is at Golkonda; and, to ingratiate him thoroughly into his favour, they have assisted Mollay with men and guns for the subduing of castles of our Nague for the King, or rather their own use; by which means our Nague is cashiered and he substituted, and is also made his treasurer and does even in a manner command all". It thus becomes clear that on Srīranga succeeding to the throne Dāmarla Venkaṭa intrigued with Golkonda and was thrown into prison first and ultimately dismissed, Mallaiya, the merchant, doing the work of broker between the Dutch company and the country was through the Dutch influence advanced to his position. For the time being the Golkonda forces which had come as far as Pulicat had been defeated and turned back to a certain extent. All these transactions are referable to the years 1643 and perhaps early 1644. We might now regard Sriranga as having established himself in power and had succeeded in his first effort at keeping back the Golkonda forces. This state of things was not likely to continue. The Golkonda forces were likely to look to their own advantage and make incursions again, and unless they were permanently disabled from doing so, there was not much chance of a permanent peace. A letter from Fort St. George dated 25th August 1643 contains the following statement :—" This[11] country hath been, and still is at present, all in broils, one Nague against another, and most against the King; which makes all trade at a stand. But the king, by means of the King of Vizapore, who for 15 lacks of pagodas and 24 elephants hath sent some thousands of horse for his assistance, is like to have the better." But apparently Srīranga took action accordingly with the assistance of these Bijapur troops and ensured himself some little peace. As soon as Sṛiranga had established himself in power, the Fort St. George Company thought it time to get the charter of Dāmarla Venkaṭa and Venkatapati renewed by Sriranga. They report that for securing this they had almost resolved upon sending Greenhill and four others to the King at Vellore, from whom they obtained a charter dated September 25, 1645. Srīranga also negotiated successfully for the English Company buying the goods that Mallaiya was able to take from the Dutch in the course of the wars. It is after this that we find the Dutch correspondence referring to the defeat of Srīranga within the walls of Vellore by a Bijapur army, and forced to pay a war indemnity. This was brought about through the intrigues of Mir Jumla, who, after suffering the defeat referred to before, negotiated both with Bijapur and Kanṭhīrava Narasa Raja Odaiyar of Mysore to bring

11 The English Factories in India, 1642-45, pp. 115-16.

about an attack upon Vellore. As a result of this defeat Sriranga found some of the rebel Nayaks of the empire return to their proper allegiance and promised to support him as against his enemies. This defeat of Bijapur was taken advantage of by Mir Jumla to renew his invasion, and this time he made Udayagiri the object of his attack. There is a note concerning this :—" Ever[12] since the siege of Pulicat, which was begun the 12th August last, the King hath been in wars with the King of Vizapore (Bijapur) and in civil wars with three of his great Nagues; so that he to this time never had opportunity to send a considerable force against Pulicat, more than 4,000 soldiers that lay before it to stop the ways that no goods should go in or out. And now the King of Golkonda hath sent his general, Mir Jumla, with a great army to oppose this King; who is advance (d) to the Jentues country, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got together 50,000 soldiers (as report saith), whereof 3,000 soldiers he sent for from Pulicat, to keep the Moors from intrenching upon this King country". As usual again, an extract among the Hague Transcripts from a Diary at Pulicat supplies the illuminating information as to when this took place. It sets down that "the three[12] rebellious Nayaks were those of Tanjore, Madura, and Sinsider (Gingi ?), who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December, 1645". This note also refers to the mission sent by the English with presents of the value of 1,000 pagodas and obtaining a renewal of the cowle. This same is noted in a subsequent letter dated January 21, 1646, and another dated 26th February following :- " This[13] country is at present full of wars and troubles for the King and three of his Nagues are at variance, and the King of Vizapore's army is come into this country on the one side and the king of Golkonda upon the other, both against this King. The Mir Jumlah is General for the King of Golkonda, who hath already taken three of the King's castles, whereof one of them is reported to be the strongest hold in this kingdom; where Molay was sent to keep it, but in a short time surrendered it unto the Mir Jumlah, upon composition for himself and all his people to go away free; but how he will be received by the King we shall advise you by the next, for this news came unto us but yesterday". In another Dutch document the fort referred to is Udayagiri undoubtedly, the famous fortress in the Nellore District, which Sir William Foster considers too far north, which perhaps is not quite the case. This pusillanimous surrender of Udayagiri threw Mallaiya into disgrace in turn and the necessary dismissal of this officer in the face of the enemy gave the advantage to those enemies. Vellore was now besieged by the joint armies of Bijapur and Golkonda, which is referred to in the following extract from Sir William Foster's introduction :— "Then[14] comes a long silence, but from the Dutch records we learn that Sriranga, after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army, and that the Nayaks, sobered by the successes of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance, and promised to assist the King in maintaining the independence of his country. The siege of Pulicat ceased with the fall of Malaya from power; and in May a fresh lease of the town and district was obtained from Sriranga".

It was about this time that Sriranga's authority should have extended northwards well into the Kurnool District where we have a duplicate record of his reign of a date in May 1647. This grant comes from a small modern temple of Venkaṭesa

12 The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 24-25.

13 *Ibid*, pp. 25-26.

14 *Ibid*, p. xxv.

at Nandiyala. It refers to a voluntary contribution raised by the various classes of inhabitants of the district round Nandiyala, and made over to a certain Timmaiya, son of a Chapparam Dasari Saruvaiya ; and this service was rendered for the merit of Hazarati Khan Khana Sahébulavaru (the Hon'ble Khan-i-Khanan Saheb); and the record refers itself distinctly to the reign of Vïra Pratapa Srïranga Rayalu-déva Maharayalu ruling from Penugonḍa, thus showing that Srïranga's authority prevailed over the region, though the actual rule was still under the Muhammadan general. It looks as though, in the popular estimation, this latter was no other than Mir Jumla from the actual style of reference. The festival of the decorated car provided for seems likewise intended for God Venkaṭésvara at Tirupati as the person to whom the collected money was handed over is set down as the son of a *Chapparam Dasari* which would mean a wandering non-Brahman Vaishnava, who collected monies for various purposes of service in the temple at Tirupati usually. In 1647 therefore Srïranga's authority stood high even over that locality falling well within the limits of the more recent Golkonda conquests. This is illuminating in the face of the advance of Mir Jumla and his successful occupation of the territory all round Fort St. George, thus bringing him within a couple of days' march of Jingee, as noted in a letter of January 4,1647 :—" The[15] wars and famine doth still furiously rage in these parts, and we think that there will be a period set unto the former before the latter ; for the Anna Bobb Mir Jumla hath taken the government of Pulicat and St. Thomas, setting the country all in order as he goeth along, and is now within two days' march of the King's court and no body cometh to oppose him, the famine having almost destroyed all the kingdom ; for out of our little town there hath died no less than 3,000 people since September last ; in Pulicat as report saith, 15,000 ; and in St. Thoma no less ".

But soon after came a revulsion, and we find Srïranga being pushed back, and Mir Jumla advancing again to occupy the country round Madras effectively to lead the Company's servants to get a renewal of the charter by him, as is recorded in a letter dated October 9, 1647 :—" We[16] had almost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 rials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the coast at his going to Bantam was lent us by the King of Gulkondah(s) Generall, who hath almost conquer'd this kingdom and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob (see p. 70). This 16,000 rials he lent us for one twelve months gratis ; which debt we discharged at the arrival of the *Farewell*. So, in requital of the Annabobs curtezie, we gave him one of the two brass guns you sent out by the *Mary*, which he would not be denied of, whither he had lent us his money or no ; otherwise he would not have confirmed our old privileges formerly granted us by the now fled Jentue King. So upon the delivering of this gun he gave it us here under his hand that he received the gun in full and contentable satisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month, and never here after would desire any thing else for the same ; and withal confirmed under the King of Gulkondah(s) great seal all our former privileges in ample manner, as it was granted unto us by the aforesaid fled Jentue King. So by this means the gun hath saved you three times the value of it, by accomplishing too good acts at once ".

" A letter he carried declared that food was dear and cotton goods were difficult to obtain, as the country was being harried by fresh incursions of the Golkonda

15 The English Factories in India, 1646-50, p. 70.

16 *Ibid*, pp. 166-67, Oct. 9, 1647, and also Letter by *Ivy* to Bantam, same vol., p. xxx, August 19, 1648.

and Bijapur armies, with the result that Porto Novo and Pondicherri were 'in a manner ruined', while Tegnapatam, the other chief centre of the piece-goods trade in that region, had to buy immunity from a like fate by 'continual presents'." This perhaps was the beginning of Mir Jumla's advance towards Gingee to which he was invited by the Nayak of Madura, who called him in for his own ulterior purposes. Before the walls of Gingee, the Bijapur army, which was with Tirumala Nayak, deserted to the Golkonda general who was quite inclined to let the Bijapur troops occupy Gingee. The Bijapur army then went into occupation of Gingee and took Tegnapatam, and the region round Cuddalore. This made Sriranga's position untenable, and he had to retire to Mysore for the time being. This is noted by Sir William Foster chiefly from the Dutch records:—"On[17] the eastern side of India, at the beginning of the period under review, the Carnatic was still being harassed by the incursions of its Muhammadan foes, and by their constant dissensions and conflicts. The forces of the King of Bijapur had conquered the whole of the district centring in the famous fortress of Gingi, including the seaboard round Tegnapatam, which Malaya was made Governor; and the Dutch promptly took advantage of this to obtain (August 1651) a grant of trade at that and the neighbouring ports (Hague Transcripts, Series i, Vol. XVII, No. 532; Vol. XVIII, No. 539). The unhappy Raja of the Carnatic had taken refuge with the Nayak of Mysore, who was at war with Bijapur (*Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, No. 518). Meanwhile, to the northwards, the Nawab Mir Jumla, as general of the Golkonda forces, was busy consolidating his position". The taking of Gingee is dated 1649, and its occuption by Bijapur could not have been to the satisfaction of Mir Jumla. Hostilities soon broke out therefore between the erstwhile allies of Bijapur and Golkonda, as the following note dated January 14, 1652, would indicate:—"Wars[18] being commenced between the Moors of Golkondah and Vizapore, who, having shared this afflicted kingdom, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poor Jentue, hoping their destruction, watches opportunity to break of his present miserable yoke. In the interim many bickerings have been within two days' journey of this place, and it is reported that the Nabob with his army is besieged among the hills of Golkondah, whither he retired for the more safety by the Vizaporis; which hath so distracted this country that we could not adventure your monies abroad without too much hazard". Mir Jumla got the worst of it ultimately and had to conclude a treaty with Bijapur on payment of a heavy indemnity. This treaty between the two must have been not much earlier than January 27, 1652, as the following note indicates:—"Have[19] already advised the troubles arising from the quarrel between the Vizapore and Golkondah Moores; but lately peace is concluded between the two Kings, being bought by the last for 600,000 (some say 900,000) pagodas; for which sum he is again restored to possession of his late conquests, part whereof had in this bickering been surprized by the Vizaporeans, whose King for these many months was reported dead, though now resuscitated and said to be in better health than for diverse passed years". The difference between the two states of Bijapur and Golkonda probably was the outcome of the division of territory recently conquered from the Vijayanagar empire between them. The successful occupation of Gingi by Bijapur naturally would furnish cause of quarrel, and we hear that very soon after this treaty, Vijapur took possession of Penugonda, the titular capital of the empire of Vijanagar and asked leave to march

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17 The English Factories in India, 1651-54, pp. xxiv-xxv.

18 *Ibid*, p. 111, January 27, 1652.

19 *Ibid*, p. 99, January 14, 1652.

through Golkonda territory to Gingi. Mir Jumla declined to grant this freedom of passage and now made overtures to the ruler of Mysore and even made direct overtures to emperor Srīranga. This is noted by Sir William Foster chiefly from the Dutch records :—" The[20] war in the Carnatic was continued as strenuously as ever. According to the Dutch records, the Bijapur commander-in-chief, having mastered the important fortress of Penukonda in March, 1653, thereupon requested permission to pass through the districts held by the Golconda troops on his way to Gingi ; but this was refused by Mir Jumla, who, alarmed at the success of the Bijapur troops, was animating the Nayak of Mysore against them and also making overtures to the Carnatic Raja. The latter, relying on Mir Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised a large army, hoping to drive the Bijapuris out of the country [Hague Transcripts, Series i, vol. xix, No. 550 (1)]. The issue of all this is told in a letter from Batavia of November 7, 1654 (N. S.), which states that the Bijapur general had, after a long siege, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with the Raja, by which Chandragiri was left to the latter, with the revenues of certain districts (*Ibid*, No. 551). Meanwhile the Dutch were endeavouring to live as peaceably as possible with both contending powers. This was not easy in the case of Mir Jumla, who (as we have seen) was much irritated by their refusal to grant passes to Indian ships desirous of trading with Ceylon, Achin, and all districts in which the Dutch were striving to establish a monopoly ". These transactions probably relate to the year 1652, as we find that the Bijapur armies marched to Vellore, attacked and took possession of the fort and left emperor Srīranga with Chandragiri for his capital and the districts dependent thereon, as set down in these records. This took place soon after March 1653 :—The Company's servants complain as early as September 23, 1648, just before the fall of Gingi that " the[21] body of this kingdom is harried by two foreign nations, who lie within two days' journey one of another with powerful armies, watch all advantage upon each other, yet both strive to make a prey of this miserable and distracted or divided people. These are the Golkondah and the Vizapore (Bijapur) Moores, the latter of which hath brought in 8,000 freebooters, who receive no pay but plunder what they can ; whose incursions, robberies, and devastations hath brought a dislocation on a great part of the country round about, especially the three prime cloth ports, Tevenapatam, Porto Novo, and Pullacherey (Pondicherri), of which the two last are in a manner ruined the other hardly preserving itself in a poor condition with continual presents ". The year 1653 therefore marks the lowest that Sriranga's fortune had reached as yet.

It is immediately after this date that Mir Jumla gave cause of dissatisfaction to Abdulla Qutub Shah of Golkonda and the suspicion of the Sultan that Mir Jumla was attempting to set up independently led the latter to look for aid elsewhere. He made an effort to play Bijapur against Golkonda and failing there applied to prince Aurangzeb, who was in the Dakhan acting in behalf of his father. This is found recorded in a letter of September 18, 1654, and another of February 4, 1656, and summarised by Sir William Foster in the English Factories in India, 1650-55, page xxxiv : " In[22] September, 1654, the English factors reported a fresh development in the unstable politics of the Coast. The King of Golkonda, Abdullah Qutb Shah, had long been jealous of the power wielded by his servant, Mir Jumla, and an open breach had now

20 The English Factories in India, 1651-54, p. xxxiii.
21 The English Factories in India, 1646-50, pp. 215-16.
22 The English Factories in India, 1651-54, p. xxxiv.

occurred between them (p. 290). The latter was suspected of an intention of making himself an independent sovereign of the territory he had conquered in the Carnatic ; but he was well aware of the difficulty of standing alone, and after making overtures to the King of Bijapur, he finally succumbed to the intrigues of Aurangzeb, who, as Viceroy of the Deccan, was eagerly watching for an opportunity to interfere. Mir Jumla agreed to enter the service of the Mughal Emperor ; but rumours of his intention so alarmed Abdullah Qutb Shah that he sought to win back the friendship of his former minister, and the latter hesitated until the imprisonment of his family at Golkonda towards the end of 1655—an act provoked by the haughty behaviour of his son—precipitated the crisis and drove Mir Jumla into the arms of Aurangzeb, with disastrous results to the Golkonda kingdom "

"In[23] the book (1) of transactions with the Nabob (you will) read how hee hath intrenched on our privileges (in Madras) patam, which was begunn by the Braminees me(ntioned in Mr.) Bakers tyme, who would take no notice of their (actions, but) supported them.... In the meane tyme wele str(ive to keep what) wee have, until better tymes. The said Nabob is (in opposition) to the King his master ; nor can wee divine the i(ssue of this un)certain warr from such various reports as pass in (these parts ; but) suppose, if the King oremaster him, heele fly to the (Mogull for) shelter, who already begins to take his part ". The suspicion against Mir Jumla was aggravated by the indiscreet behaviour of the son which led the Qutb Shah to throw him into prison and thus hurried up what was going to follow. Mir Jumla had to go away from Golconda to the protection of Aurangzeb's camp and was despatched therefrom to the court of Shah Jahan at Delhi. The absence of Mir Jumla from Golkonda was the opportunity for Sriranga to take the tide at the flood. Now that Mir Jumla was away, that part of the territory of Vijayanagar which he had taken was under dispute between him and his sovereign master, the Qutb Shah. Mir Jumla could not be quite so active in this region and anything that Sriranga might do to recover his territory would have the countenance of the Qutb Shah, if not the active support that it gained later on. This is found recorded in a Dutch letter from Batavia about the end of January 1657 which shows that Sriranga captured Tirupati and was planning out the conquest of the districts round about, which constituted the central block of his territory all the while :—" This[24] long imprisoned King at last returned to his citty, after (by reporte) the receipt of good news from the Mughull, who they say keepes the Nabob by him and will not permit him to returns to these countreys againe, and hath given him all the Curnatt (Carnatic) country to his disposall and years tribitt free. This is reported for truth ; whither soe or noe (I) knowe not. But for certaine hee (*i.e.*, Mir Jumla) hath lately sent an army of neare 10,000 horse to take possession of Curnatt, and at his comeing into the citty had not lesse then 50,000 horse and foote, richly accountred, which are all in pay, that marched before him."

The story regarding the disposal of the Carnatic was, in effect, true. Abdullah Kutb Shah had done his best to retain that rich province, which had been conquered on his behalf by the Nawab ; but Shah Jahan decided that it must be treated as Mir Jumla's *jagir*, held directly from the Emperor, and the Golkonda monarch was ordered to recall his officers from the province[25]. As a

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23 The English Factories in India, 1655-60, Feb. 6, 1656, pp. 62-63.
24 *Ibid*, p. 91.
25 See Professor Sarkar's Aurangzib, Vol. I, p. 245.

Madras letter of July 7, 1656 (written, it is true, before the decision was known there) says :

" As for this country about us, tis indifferent quiett ; continueing yett under the Nabob government, whose officers still remain in theirre places of command, though the army bee much lessened by his departure ".

He hardly succeeded in this effort. The dispute between the Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla reached a head when on his report Shah Jahan intimated to the Qutb Shah that the Karnatic territory must be regarded as Mir Jumla's to be held under the great Mughal's authority, and warning the Qutb Shah from making any claims therefor. This naturally would lead the Qutb Shah not merely to countenance but to encourage actually Sriranga in his efforts. We find this record in the Coast correspondence.[26] This is found recorded again in a number of places which are set down below followed by a letter written on January 28, 1657, by Greenhill and Chamber, which summarises the whole :— " In which respect wee have not as yett broake their seales, but deferre their opening until wee bee better informed to whome they belong, or the countrey settled in the Gentue Kings possession which would not only secure us from future trouble but much advance your affaires in these parts, for some good service wee have done him in assisting Conar Cittee (Koneri Chetti), his generell for these quarters ; which business, if the success be sutable to the beginning, this place will bee beter worth your owning then ever ".

" Alsoe it was reported that the king of Gulcondah had lett the countrey of Carnaticum again to the Roylaes ; upon which the Kinge of the Jentues father-in-law, called Vengum Rajah, with a partye of souldiers tooke parte of the countrye, and came to Peddapollium[27] ; which newes when Sidelee heard, not raising the seige nor comeing hither, returned to Pullecatt.[28]

" And all the country hereabouts (Punnamallee castle excepted) rendered to the Jentu King's obedience, who now, in the Nabobs absence, is up in armes for the recovering of his kindome, and hath already recovered a large part[29]."

Next from a letter[30] sent by the Madras factors to Bantam, dated November 5, we learn that—

" All these countries that were formerly conquered by the Nabob are now of late (in his absence at the Moghulls court) upon the revolt, the Jentue King with diverse Nagues being in arms ; some of whose forces are not at the seidge of Paleacatt, where tis said most of the Nabobs riches are stowed. Here is nothing but takeing and retakeing of places, with parties of both sides, in all places ; soe that tis very dangerous giving out monies for goods in these tymes. But wee hope ere long 'twill be settled, especially for us, if the King recovers his country ".

And finally we have the report[31] made to the Company by Greenhill and Chamber on January 28, 1657.

" The warres in these parts have been an exceding hinderance to the progress of your business in this place ; and the more through the treachery of Conarcity, whom the Jentue King made his generall in these parts about Punnomalee ; which castle might have been easily brought in subjection, but

26 The English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 91.
27 Possibly Peddanaikpetta (a ward of Madras) is meant.
28 The English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 94.
29 *Ibid*, p. 95.
30 *Ibid*, p. 97.
31 *Ibid*, pp. 98-9.

hee delayed the time until the Nabobs party had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him ; whereupon hee basely fledd to this towne with his army.

Nor are our Dutch neighbours in Pullecatt altogether secure, for all their strength, should the Gentue King overcome, who yet is able to counterpoize the Nabobs party and may happily get the day at last, if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his conquest ; which is much to bee doubted, though his party report that hee is on the way from Agra as farre as Brahmpore with a formidable army ; but tis supposed Vizapore (Bijapur) will take him up by the way. As for Conarcittee, he rendered himselfe up to the Moores as a prisoner, but was received in state by the comanders with more than accustomed honour in such cases ; which, considered with his alliance and neere relation to Topa Kistnapa, the Nabobs generall, togither with other circumstances and observations in his present deport and continued respect from ditto Kistnapa, are sufficient to ground the generall suspicion of his betraying the king's army".

During 1656 therefore Sriranga had regained much of the lost provinces and was practically master of what was his own territory before. Even the Dutch found their position difficult as Sriranga laid siege to their principal fortress of Pulicat. As usual Sriranga was badly served, and it is the faithlessness and disaffection of his own officers that are again responsible for his not having achieved the measure of success that he should have. Notwithstanding the disaffection of his general Koneri Chetty going over to Mir Jumla's side, Sriranga had gained back much of his territory. Early in the year 1658, however, Sriranga's forces were ambushed successfully by Tuppakki Krishnappa, and this gave him a set back. Then follows the revolt of Poonamallee as against Mir Jumla and in favour of the king of Golkonda and the Golkonda ruler was expected to send assistance. Early in the year 1659, there is a note that the Golkonda forces under Kuli Beg inflicted a defeat upon Tuppakki Krishnappa in October 1658. These wars brought about a stringency in respect of prices, which is found referred to in the English Factories in India, 1655-60, page 257. Such was the commercial history of the Agency during the year. Of political events we hear nothing, except for a reference in a letter to Bengal of 8 August to the relief afforded by the rains, which had mitigated the previous scarcity and had brought down the price of grain. This scarcity "had been partly due to the feeding of two great armys near us "—presumably the troops of the King of Golkonda and of the Raja of Chandragiri respectively ; and the effect of these disturbances is seen in the fact that for much of the cotton goods sent home in 1659, it was necessary to go to Porto Novo and Pondicherri. Concerning the relation with the former ruler we have more information.[32] "From the Dutch records we learn that in October Kuli Beg, commanding the Golkonda forces, inflicted a serious defeat on Tupaki Krishnappa, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The victor subdued all the districts round Madras, and the Dutch at Pulicat found themselves obliged to come to terms with him, while San Thome also submitted" (Hague Transcripts, sec. i, vol. xxiii, No. 639.)[33].

There are two extracts which seem to throw light upon subsequent events. They relate to the doings of Shahji and his taking possession of the territory round Gingi. The Company's servants seem to be exercised about the possibility of shifting away from Fort St. George, which is noted in the English Factories in India, 1661-63, page 53.

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[32] The English Factories in India, 1655-1660, p. 257.
[33] *Ibid*, p. 176, Note 1.

"Having then such large priviledges granted by the Gentue Nague, then Governor of this countrey, which have bin confirmed by the Gentue King, Nabob, and all Vice-Roys since, it is soon answered whither 'twere better to make a place anew or continue in that you have allready made ; for to have a towne with fortifications as this is, in any of the King of Golkonda's dominions, if 'twere now to doe, it would not bee money that could purchase it ; and for to have any fortification allready built to your hands, unless St. Thoma and Trincombarr (Tranquebar), there's none—And for St. Thoma, the Dutch have bin endeavouring to gripe it into their hands, if the King of Golkonda would consent unto it ; having att severall times piscashed him with large presents that hee would stand newter. But a place of that circuite as is St. Thoma cannott bee sufficiently guarded without five times the number of souldyers as are enterteyned in your Fort St. George. For the seituation of either, there cannott bee much difference, being but two miles asunder". Another letter in the same volume, page 174, is more hopeful in its tone, and speaks of the Jentue king having some power about the Tanjore country, and making efforts to recover his possessions again.

"According[34] to Your Worships, etc., order, wee have layed aside and are provideing necessaryes for defence of the Fort. But wee hope, and upon probable grounds conjecture, that they will not trouble us here ; for the Gentue is something powerfull about the Tangore countrey, and if hee overcomes Balle Gaun (Bahlol Khan), the Vizapore's servant, 'tis thought hee 'il meete with little or no oposition in all these parts ; to which purpose Raja Cooly's camp is fix'd about Trivaloore (Tiruvallur), and the consequence will prove too dangerous to spare any of his force to beseidge us". His success is reflected in another letter on page 382 of the same volume :—"....Besides[35], the Gentues are now geathering to a head against the Moores ; and if they should be victorious, they would endeavour to doe us a discourtesy, in regard by the help of our guns and gunners (which formerly hath byn lent them (*i.e.*, the Moore) by your Agents here) they (*i.e.*, the Gentues) lost their countrey ; and therefore it is of concernement to bee alwayes in a posture of defence." About the end of the year 1668 we find that the territory under dispute hitherto is almost definitely under the authority of the Nabob of Golkonda which shows that it is the officers of the Golkonda Sultan that have to be negotiated with and the steps that the Company's servants took to do so. This is noted on pages 291-92 of the English Factories in India, 1668-69 :—"It appears that towards the end of 1668 the Agent dispatched a Brahman named Venkatapati, who paid a visit to 'Chenapelle Meirza' at 'Trepettee' and was by him sent on, with a letter to the Nawab (Neknam Khan) at Golkonda. The latter received the Brahman affably and told him that what he wanted was to 'kepe one of his people in the towne, as there was formerly, and that the Government of the towne should be acted by his people, as at Pollecat'. He further said that when he first tooke posssesion of the Cornutta (Carnatic) country and he being then with his army at Negalapuram, that Verona, with an Englishman and myself, we went to visit him at that time and carried him a letter from one of our former Captains, wherein was mentioned that the towne was rented by the English and that they would have it in the like manner to be allwaies continued ; and besides this, that he at that time had one called Ancapa Nague, unto whom was given the title of Serlaskareen of all those countries, whom we then brought before him, and we made him speake how Cinapatam was formerly made in his

[34] The English Factories in India, 1661-64, p. 174.
[35] *Ibid*, p. 382.

fathers name and that, if the Nabob should give leave that the said towne should remaine under the English government, that he would be accompatable for the yearly rent, taking that charge upon him. Also the Nabob told me that at that time he could not only give his consent to his present petition, but if he should have desired then to have Pollecatt, Chinapatam, or any other place, he should have given his consent freely, for it was necessary to doe so then.

He had since, however, changed his mind and had decided to place a representative in Madras. Of this he had informed the Agent several times, without receiving a satisfactory reply. The Brahman replied that the English Company never allowed any changes to be made without their express consent; whereupon the Nawab desired him to write to the Agent to obtain the necessary permission. In making this report (1 March, 1669), the Brahman added that he and his five or six attendants were all sick; that food was very dear, rice being 'at 7 great cash per veece (Viss) and 16 cash for every bundle of grass for the horse; and that he had no money to fee the Nawab's porters and bakerdarrs. He requested, therefore, a supply of money and also of articles for presents[36]". With 1668 we cease to hear of the activities of Sriranga in these records. He seems now definitely to retire from active operations on this side, and is found throwing in his lot within the territory included in Mysore. His name is found in inscriptional records as late as 1681 and during the dozen years after 1668 he appears to have ceased to play quite an independent part and seems dependent on some of his feudatories who made use of his name to serve their own particular interests.

There are Jesuit letters bearing upon at least a part of this period, particularly the reports of the Fathers of the Madura Mission. The first[37] letter is a letter of Proenza written in 1659 which records at the end that what is contained in the letter of political events relate to the last three years. It is more or less a correct account but includes in its narration events earlier than 1656, and throws some light upon the order of some of the subsequent events. The next letter is of date 1662, and covers the interval of three years between the first and this. There is not much that it contains relating to the emperor, or in the letters that followed which have more or less to do with the southern Nayaks, the Bijapur invasion and the ultimate Mahratta conquest of Tanjore, etc. They are of value for this period only to an inferior degree. Nevertheless, the letters are very important as confirming what we find from other sources.

Extant Family Records in Mahrashtra—Their scope and value.

(By Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A.)

When one looks at the large number of volumes so far published in Marathi, more than 500 I believe, dealing only with materials of Indian history, one is apt to conclude that most of the available sources have now been fully tapped and that no further work remains hereafter for research scholars to do, so far as Mahrashtra is concerned. But such is not the case. I wish to point out in this paper in what directions research work in history has yet to be carried out.

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36 The English Factories in India, 1668-69, pp. 291-92.

37 The English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 257.

The early life of Shivaji and the full careers of his two immediate ancestors are yet practically unknown to history, and if a persistent effort were to be made, much fresh light can still be discovered, particularly in those regions where they acted their life's part. The origin of the Bhosle Chhatrapatis is still shrouded in mystery and appears in the opinion of competent scholars to be traceable more to the Hoysala rulers of Halebid or Dwarasamudra than to the Sisodia Rajputs of Udepur in the north. The genuineness of the famous Mudhol firmans (which have now been plentifully edited in Marathi at the expense of the late Raja of Mudhol) has yet to be established beyond doubt. Family pride ought not in this respect to be allowed to vitiate historical accuracy. It is well known that the two great and extensive families of the Bhosles and the Ghorpades, who between them have acted the major portion of the Shivaji period of Maratha history, are descended from one and the same common ancestor, profess the same gotra and do not intermarry. Shivaji's father and his cousins of Mudhol have always so indulged in bitter family feuds that while Shivaji was trying to establish an independent kingdom, he was at every step thwarted by his Mudhol cousins, then headed by the famous Baji Ghorpade. Several papers illustrative of the Ghorpades' activities in North Kanara have been published in Marathi, and must be supplemented by Kanarese sources existing in that region. In fact the large portions of the present districts of North and South Kanara, together with their more eastern counterparts right through Chittaldurg, Shira, Duderi, Hospet, Ballari up to Penukonda, deserve to be minutely scoured both for Marathi and Kanarese sources, and if a band of enthusiastic workers proficient in Marathi and Kanarese were to undertake a tour of patient investigation through these hilly historic regions including old Ikkeri and Bednur, their labours are likely to be richly rewarded and will surely result in clearing up the cloudy careers not only of Shahji and his cousins the Ghorpades, but of the various mediæval chiefs and potentates, nayaks as they are often called—whose only stray names one at present comes across in extant Mohammadan histories. If correct genealogies of such chiefs could be accurately constructed, many historical episodes can be finally settled.

But there is another immediate task nearer home. It is well known that the recent exploration of the Peshwas' Daftar at Poona was not at all exhaustive, and the Handbook to the records at the Alienation Office, issued by the Bombay Government in 1933, contains a special chapter at the end detailing what further historical work remains to be executed by competent students possessing the necessary equipment. Apart from the 549 rumals of Gujrati papers and a similar stock of Kanarese papers, which have not yet been at all touched and which deserve to be immediately examined by persons knowing those languages, a large portion of Marathi rumals, particularly referring to the old historic families of Mahrashtra, have yet to be properly investigated. Says the Handbook : "There is still much material at the Daftar for research students to utilise for history, particularly in the case of several old historical families, either extant or extinct, if they can avail themselves of the facilities for study offered by Government. Not only could many Indian States and their rulers enrich their own personal histories, but nearly all Maratha families in the country, whose ancestors made the history of this nation, will find in this storehouse much which they can cherish with pride, provided that they will afford the labour and application which such research necessarily presupposes." Government have now appointed a trained archivist for these records to guide and help those who

wish to inspect them. I would recommend all those who are interested in history to study the whole Handbook minutely and set about their research work among these huge records on the lines laid down therein.

I need not dwell at this moment on the desirability of undertaking frequent historical tours through the various parts not only of Mahrashtra but also through many old regions outside, which are so rich in historical antiquities. What sort of a search is thus intended can well be illustrated by a reference to a few learned articles which appeared in Marathi in the well known old magazine *Vividha-Jnana-Vistar* during some five years, 1915 to 1920, entitled "Extracts from an Officer's Diary". Although the writer assumed a false name of Somdev in publishing those articles, it is now well known that they came from the pen of the late Rao Bahadur Sane, an exemplary student and worker, who, as an inspector of schools, toured the districts of Poona and Kolaba and kept full notes of the sights he saw, of the conversations he had with local celebrities, and of the traditions he gathered on social, political and other topics. His work is indeed a model for all workers undertaking educational tours for historical purposes.

The introduction contains the following reflections :—

> "The writer's duty of inspection involved a tour of the districts of Poona and Kolaba. It was his wont, when his office work was over, to visit temples, ghats and sights, to meet and converse with local celebrities and extract from them information about family traditions, peculiar customs, historical relics, folk-songs, local amusements and other topics of general interest. After returning home, he noted all that he saw and heard, in full descriptions which in course of time grew in size and importance. A few useful extracts from such notes are being published by way of research for public use".

Such a method of close examination is not only desirable for the other districts of Mahrashtra, not covered by the abovementioned writer, but it is sure to yield an abundant harvest if such tours could be carried out by intelligent students for all the other important historical regions of this vast continent. As there is now a keen desire on the part of several workers, belonging to universities or outsiders, to undertake local tours and prosecute historical research, I would recommend to their attention the lines and methods followed long ago in Mahrashtra by several scholars. There is now a decided tendency on the part of owners of old papers and descendants of historical families to have their belongings properly examined and to welcome any approach to them by genuine students provided they are sure that their papers would neither be lost nor taken away for ever from them. A few years ago, the Government of Bombay issued circular instructions to all their Collectors to acquire historical papers and precious relics from the various old families within their jurisdiction, to have them photographed in duplicate at government expense, keep one copy for public use in government archives and return the other copy with originals to the owners. But this move on the part of Government has not yielded the desired results. The endeavour deserves to be renewed with more persistent effort.

The Rise and Fall of the Dutch in India.

(By Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R.Hist.S., etc.)

No history of the Dutch in India.—The Dutch have played an important role in the political and commercial history of India since 1600. During the latter half of the 17th century they touched the zenith of their power and prestige. It appeared that they would succeed the Portuguese as the foremost European nation in India, but the events in Europe and India shattered that hope. The rise and fall of any nation is not solely dependent upon any one cause, but a dominant factor may contribute to its greatness and decline. In this article it is proposed to study the commercial privileges obtained by the Dutch in India and to trace the development and decadence of their power to this one factor.

There is no comprehensive history of the Dutch power in India written by any Indian or English scholar up till now. The material for such a work is mainly in Dutch and preserved at Batavia, Colombo and the Hague. The inaccessibility of this material scattered in so many distant places coupled with the language difficulty, must have led to the neglect of research in their history. The Cambridge History of India has recently given a chapter to the political history of the Dutch.

2. *Sources for Dutch Commercial History in India.*—I have not come across any English book which deals with the theme of the present article. It is mainly based on the typescript Dutch records of the India Office. These consist of thirty-six volumes of translations and many more of original Dutch documents copied from the Hague.

The British Museum has a very valuable manuscript Addl. No. 29,095, entitled "Persian copies with English translations of Firmans and Sunnuds granted to the Dutch Company". The first part contains Persian copies of the original grants, and the second supplies their English translation. Thus this manuscript supplies correct information on the commercial privileges secured by the Dutch in various parts of India.

Supplementary light is thrown by the important works of a few Dutch writers like Peter de la Valle, Mendelslo, Baldaeus, Valentyn, and Stavorinus. The recent works of Jonge, Macleod, Moreland, Terpstra are of great help, though I could not fully utilize the latter due to the difficulty of language.

The Dutch secured special rights from the independent princes of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts. They posed as liberators of the Indian people from the tyrannies of the Portuguese ; and were hailed by the people and princes alike for developing industrial and financial resources. But as the whole of the Deccan was ultimately absorbed in the Moghul Empire, the rights conferred by Aurangzeb materially influenced the history of the Dutch. Surat was the richest city and the greatest entrepôt of the Moghul Empire. Consequently in this article we can appropriately limit our study to the privileges obtained by them at Surat.

3. *The Dutch at Surat.*—Haus de Wolff visited this port by the sea route and sent a letter, dated 24th April 1602, on the prospects of trade there. His party was invited by 'the King of Mogorres' for an interview, but they were murdered by the Portuguese. In 1605 a Dutch fleet under Admiral Steven Van der Haghen visited Surat and a merchant called David Van Deyssen was left in the city. We have a letter by him of 17 November

1607 from Burhanpur. He was ultimately imprisoned through the machinations of the Portuguese, carried to the Khan-i-Khanan and threatened with torments and death (December 25). The same letter informs us that a Dutch fleet of eight ships, after burning the rich town of Mozambique, was staying at Danda Rajapur near Chaul. A letter from Petapali gives the news of his being put to death at Surat. Really he shot himself to put an end to his sufferings.[1]

There are two documents in the Portuguese records which throw light on the settlement of the Dutch at Surat. These make no mention of the English.

Doc. 42, dated 27th January, 1607, gives instructions for the North Fleet to blockade the port of Surat so that no ships should stir out to the south to the prejudice of the King's customs or the trade of his allies. It is explicitly mentioned that " there depart for Duchem every year ships, both Dutch as well as native ones, and return to port laden with all kinds of merchandise.''

Doc. 58 of January 2, 1608, refers to the sale of goods captured by the Dutch and sold at Surat. Again, Doc. 60, dated 4th January, 1608, contains orders for taking measures of conquest, fortifications and negotiations in Pegu, Siam and Sondip to prevent the Dutch from trading in those parts.

It is evident that they used to frequent the port of Surat and had a Dutch factor there before the English established their first factory through Mr. Hawkins. Earlier settlement must have given them a greater hold and credit in the Surat market. In 1616 Pieter van der Broecke came to Surat and the memorandum of the merchandise drawn by him for Surat, Agra, Cambay and the surrounding countries in 1622[2], gives an idea of the extensive commercial activities of this nation.

4. *Dutch privileges.*—The Dutch like all other merchants were experiencing certain difficulties in carrying on trade in the Moghal Empire, but they wanted to remove these to the minimum.

In the year 1619 the Dutch President P. V. Der Broecke secured a Firman from Prince Khurrum for the removal of commercial hardships. Its main items were :

1. Freedom of travel and trade without molestation ;
2. Permission to import and export goods on the payment of usual duties ;
3. No violence to be used by officers in purchasing Dutch goods ;
4. Curiosities not to be opened ;
5. Goods of the decreased Dutch to be made over to the Dutch factors ;
6. No interference in their mutual quarrels ;
7. No proselytizing of the Dutch of their servants ; and
8. Victuals to be duty-free.

These privileges were supplemented by another grant of the same year from the Emperor himself for freedom from molestation and transit duties

[1] Vol. II, Docs. 71 & 72 of 1614 relate the whole story of his death. It is said that he committed suicide at Burhanpur. Thereupon his goods were kept in sole custody by Khan-i-Khanan. The Dutch were informed to take these back from the Governor of Surat. *Cf.* Vol. III, Doc. 87.

[2] Balkrishna, Commercial Relations between India and England, p. 288.

on the way from Surat to Burhanpur, Ahmedabad and Cambay. In 1626, 1632 and 1635 these privileges were confirmed by Shah Jahan. When the alliance of the English and Portuguese in 1634 exasperated the Indian princes, the Dutch managed to get more rights from several of them.

The Hindus and Muslims had to undergo all the hardships from which the Dutch were freed by the successive Firmans. The consequence was that both maritime and inland trade began to pass more and more into foreign hands.

The natives of the country were also losing their shipping trade by the piracies committed by the foreigners and the stifling restrictions of obtaining passes from one of the European nations for the safety of the native ships. The Dutch may be said to be sovereigns of the seas and as such they could dictate terms to the rulers of India who had no navies of their own to protect their shipping and their shores.

5. *The Policy of the Mailed Fist.*—Privileges once secured could not be maintained but by a mailed fist in those days of arbitrary government, and especially when they were in direct opposition to the interests of the state officials. The main source of the incomes of the revenue collectors was dried up by granting the Dutch exemption from paying transit duties and presents. The officials were consequently reluctant to carry out the commands of the distant monarch or even the governor, particularly when they were conscious that the complaints of the foreigners would not be much heard. Hence there was an ever-present element of conflict between the officials and foreign traders. The latter always tried to win the goodwill of every new governor and monarch by presents of money and rarities, but sometimes when these failed, they had recourse to reprisals on the sea. How the Dutch had to wage a war against Shah Jahan in 1648 for the maintenance of their rights at Surat will be evident from the following documents—508 and 509.

" Every day they invent new vexations. In Bengal it has come so far that they blame us for all the pillage done by the Danes, and they demanded compensation from us. In Surat they are so bold and arrogant that they not only obstinately refused to return the money stolen from the factory, but have despatched a vessel to Achin without our leave or pass. They know that in case of their vessel being seized, they can secure redress to themselves by laying embargo on the Company's property here. The Governor General and Council at Batavia do not wish any foreign vessels to visit the tin districts and have given orders against their entrance into Achin, but the Moors will never desist unless they are brought to obedience by force. The longer this is postponed, the more difficult an undertaking it will prove."

One year later, in 1649, there is another despatch to the same effect.

" A residence of over twenty-two years in Guzerat has acquainted you with the manifold and repeated vexations, worries and insults which the servants of the Company have been daily exposed to in the Kingdom of the Great Moghul. Matters have gone from bad to worse, they know that we prefer peaceful trading to the ravages of war. They have introduced monopolies, imposed unjust duties, and put every obstacle in the way of our trading they would possibly think of . . . The Moors deserve a severe lesson ere we shall obtain free and unmolested trading."

" A residence of over twenty-two years in Guzerat has acquainted you returning from Persia and Arabia and having a capital in specie on board amounting to £100,000 and merchandise valued at £37,500. This exploit

caused such a consternation among the merchants of Surat that the Governor was compelled to concede to all the demands of the Dutch. Commenting upon this incident, the Dutch factors at Surat remarked that " the Moors are now convinced that the benefits of the trade with Surat are not all on our side ; they have also been taught the fact that we could easily destroy their commerce in all parts of India. Their trade by sea is the source of their wealth and of the income of the King. The products of the country, namely, indigo, cloths, saltpetre and provisions, are sufficient to maintain its inhabitants or fill the treasury. Our determined action has in no way harmed our trade in Surat, but on the contrary greatly improved it, for from henceforth we are safe from any obstacle being put in the way."

6. *The Dutch—the most favoured nation at Surat.*—Doc. 332 of the Dutch records of the year 1638 contains a statement of the customs duties levied at the premier port of Surat. No preference was shown to any nation or community in the rate of customs, but all were equally taxed. Since the schedule in Bengal was the same as at Surat, it appears that uniform duties were imposed in the Moghul Empire. But the existence of numerous toll-houses in inland places was a curse to merchants.

Frequent grants were secured by the Europeans for an unobstructed trade, and sometimes exemption from transit duties was also secured by these nations. In 1655 Shah Jahan granted to the Dutch Firmans for exemption of tolls from Surat to all inland places and from the Bengal ports to Agra and Delhi. The people soon realized that this concession transferred a large part of their trade into foreign hands. Their protests and representations to Aurangzeb could not bring the desired relief. Rather the privileges of the Dutch were ratified by Aurangzeb in 1662. Two years later even the customs duties were reduced in the case of the two European nations.

The courage shown by the English during Shivaji's attack on Surat won the admiration of the Emperor. In appreciation of their services in boldly defending the houses of their neighbours by continuing firing of guns, a Royal grant was conferred on the Company in 1664. By this they were fully exempted from paying one year's customs, and after that period, one-half per cent. was abated out of the 2½ per cent. customs for ever. It is recorded in the despatches of the Dutch that both the European nations really made a profit from this catastrophe on account of the said abatement.

The Dutch got exemptions from transit duties which amounted to 10—12 per cent. between Agra and Surat and 10—25 per cent. between Ahmadabad and Surat in 1662. The brokerage charge of 1 per cent. was also remitted.

Dr. Fryer who was at Surat and Bombay for some years remarks that ' they give us the preference before others here resident, and look on us with the same respect as they do on their great Omrahs.'' (P. 317.)

Another potent factor tended to transfer the maritime trade to the Europeans. Discriminating duties were started by Aurangzeb in an ordinance issued on 10th April 1665, when the custom duty was fixed at 2½ per cent. in the case of Muslims and 5 per cent. in that of the Hindus. Two years later on May 9th, 1667, the Muslims were altogether exempted, while the duties on other classes were retained at the old level. Add to this discouragement the imposition of Jaziya or poll-tax. Ninety years (1667—1757) of discriminating taxation in favour of Muhammedans and against the Hindus must have transferred the trade of the country to the hands of the former, but the Muslims themselves were handicapped in maritime commerce by their European rivals.

It is now evident that all Asiatics were placed at a great disadvantage as compared with the Europeans. The Dutch were the most favoured among them all, while the Muhammedans enjoyed preferential treatment among the Asiatics, but even they were largely handicapped by the burdensome imposts. No Asiatic could compete with any European, much less with a Dutchman.

The freight charges also fell heavily upon the Asiatic merchant, while the goods were generally carried by Europeans either freight-free or on a smaller charge in their Company's ships.

7. *Comparative position of the two nations up to 1707.*—The Dutch, notwithstanding bitter opposition, continued to enjoy exemption from transit duties up to 1678[1]. Azeem's Nishan was confirmed by his successors Shaista Khan and Nabob Meer Ahmad[2]. Then from a grant of Nabob Kukultash Khan obtained in 1689, it appears that the Dutch paid only 4 per cent. duty at Hugly and 5 per cent. at the ports of Piply and Balasora, that no transit tolls were levied, that their own Dustucks were to pass current, and that 4 per cent. coinage duty was to be charged for coining gold and silver at Akbarnagar[3]. This grant was supplemented by another[4] which stated that the village of Chinsura dependent on the Pergunnah Arsa, and of Barnagur dependent on the Pergunnah of Calcutta, and the Bazar at Mirsapore dependent on the Bukshbunder had long been in the possession of the Dutch Company and that all extra demands, tax on houses, pressing of coolies and commissions were remitted in those places.

Again, on the pacification of the Zemindars' revolt in Bengal, the Dutch received an acknowledgment of their " due diligence and industry, fidelity and affection shown " in the cause of the government and a confirmation of the former privileges in 1696[5] and 1699[6]. No new rights, nor any remission of duties could be secured. The English had, however, enjoyed freedom from inland duties from 1652 onward and were successful in getting customs duties commuted into a single annual payment of Rs. 3,000 only after 1692. Therefore they began to enjoy the status of the most favoured nation in the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The result of this survey can best be described in the English Company's own words written to the New Company on 23rd March 1698[7] :—

" The Company have by Grants, Phirmaunds and mutual Stipulations obtained very great privileges and Immunities in most parts of India, *not only beyond any other Nations Trading thither, but even beyond the Natives themselves* ".

We can now compare this statement with the remarks of Stavorinus on the privileges of his countrymen in India. " From them it appears that the trade of the Dutch Company in the Empire of Hindustan, has, from time to time, been encouraged with such extraordinary privileges, as if they were, and even more than as if they were, natives of the country, and the prince's own subjects, who has taken them under his special protection, against the oppression and extortions of his lieutenants, governors, etc.[8] ".

The difference in the positions of the Dutch and English was accentuated with the lapse of time. The former could never get their duties commuted or remitted, but had even to submit to the vexatious exactions. There are two grants from Prince Furruckseer of the years 1708 and 1709[9], expressly men-

1—6 Br. Museum Ms. Additional, 29095.

7 *Ibid*, Harleian No. 7019, p. 29. An account of what passed in the treaty between the New and Old E. I. Co.

8 Stavorinus, III, p. 102.

9 Br. Museum Ms. Addl. No. 29095, III, 20 & 21.

tioning that a double duty should not be collected but only a " duty of 2½ per cent. at Hugly according to the established rate at the Port of Surat ".

The Dutch seem to have withdrawn their factory from Surat, as their goods were seized by the Suratters for the piracies committed by them on the sea. Reconciliation was soon affected and they were not only restored to their former privileges, but the one per cent. Jazia as well as the 1½ per cent. duty levied at Broach, were remitted them, so that they had to pay only 2½ per cent. duty at Surat and no more throughout the Empire for goods imported *via* Surat. The duties at Hugly were also reduced to 2½ per cent. by the same charter of Bahadur Shah in 1707. It appears that the brokerage duty of one per cent. was re-imposed in some year, but it was again remitted by the above-named Firman[10].

8. *The Dutch left behind after 1716.*—At last we come to the great charter of the Dutch which equalised the duties throughout the Moghul Empire, exempted them from inland dues confirmed many former privileges tending to facilitate trade ; but even these were outmatched by those of their English rivals who secured from Furruckseer a very favourable Firman which can be styled the Magna Charta of British trade in India. The new important privilege was the payment of Rs. 10,000 at Surat in place of 2½ per cent. duties. For purposes of comparison, the main stipulations of the Dutch and English charters are here stated on the basis of an India Office Manuscript :—

The Dutch.	The English.
1. Duties in Bengal 2½ per cent.	Rs. 3,000 only p. a.
2. Duties at Surat 2½ per cent.	Rs. 10,000 only p. a.
3. Duties as usual in the Deccan.	Free.
4. Seignorage on coinage remitted, but some years after re-imposed.	No charge.
5. Towns of Chinsura, Barnagur and Mirzapur on lease.	Calcutta, Govindpur, etc., on lease.
6. Transit dues remitted.	The same.
7. Justice to be done by Government officials in the recovery of advances to weavers, dyers, etc.	Justice in the hands of the English.

The preceding statement baldly represents the extraordinary advantages enjoyed by the English. The provisions of the Dutch charters were not changed on any subsequent occasion, but were only confirmed in 1729 by Mahammad Shah, and in 1737 by Kummurudin Khan, Grand Vizier of the Empire, and again in 1744 by Nabob Alliverdy Khan. The duty of 2½ per cent. on all goods and even on coinage is expressly mentioned, while other privileges formerly enjoyed by the Dutch are restated in the latter two grants. These were reconfirmed by Meer Jaffir in 1759 and by Nabob Seruful-Dowla in 1766. It is evident that the Dutch could never secure exemption or even compounding of their dues and duties up to the acquisition of the Diwanee of Bengal by the English. The preferential treatment accorded to the latter throughout the Empire for so many years and in Bengal for over a century was bound to tell against the Dutch. *Ceteris paribus,* remission of taxes inevitably tended to the superiority of the English in the control of the foreign and inland commerce of India.

10 Dutch Records. A Vol. v. doc. 2611, No. 8 ; also No. 17.

9. *A view of commercial profits.*—To these causes must be added the sovereignty of the sea enjoyed by the Dutch and other Europeans. No Indian vessel could leave the shores of India without obtaining a permit of protection from one of these European nations. Even then Indian ships were not free from capture. European pirates could play havoc upon them, or a European nation at war with an Indian prince or with another European power used to make prizes of these vessels. Thus Indian shipping was not safe on the seas and foreign ships used to be freighted more and more with the growing naval power of the Europeans. The extraordinary profit earned in the carrying trade by the foreigners has been shown in my 'Commercial Relations between India and England'. Here it will suffice to quote the figures given by Sieur Luillier regarding the profit of trade at the end of the 17th century :—

1,200 per cent. on Japan articles.

1,000 per cent. on Japan articles.

500 per cent. on Chinese silks.

30—40 per cent. on Bengal silks and rice to Coromandel.

We are told by this traveller that the Dutch had never less than forty ships and often more, trading continually from one place to another in the East.

According to Stavorinus the profits of the eleven years from 1663 to 1674 amounted yearly to 520 per cent. upon finer spices. These rose to 850 per cent. from 1689 to 1698.

These facts are confirmed by Valentyn who states the Dutch gains at Surat to be :

665 per cent. upon cloves.

1,453 per cent. upon nutmegs.

718 per cent. upon mace.

128 per cent. upon copper bars.

42 per cent. upon benzoin.

27 per cent. upon quicksilver.

10. *The events in India and Europe accentuate Dutch decline.*—It is now evident that the profits earned in the carrying trade, monopolies and in commercial concerns were utilized in strengthening the army, navy and forts. The expenses of wars with the Eastern princes and European rivals were to be derived from this source. With the drying up of this item by reason of the growing trade and power of the English all the instruments of war began to shrivel up. A small country like Holland could not maintain an empire in the east without commercial profits. The dwindling of these in the 18th century brought about the inevitable result of reduction in armaments and the power of resistance which is based upon men, money and materials.

This decline in India was accentuated by events in Europe.

(*i*) The English Company by becoming the most favoured nation in India began to capture more and more the carrying and maritime trades. Thus the Dutch began to be ousted from these spheres. This entailed reduction in revenue and consequently in armaments.

(*ii*) The accession of the Prince of Orange on the throne of England, in February 1689, brought about a temporary alliance of the most powerful maritime nations of Europe against the threatening naval power of France. The

shortsighted policy of Louis XIV, instead of winning over the Dutch seapower to his own side, threw it into the arms of the English. "England and Holland were not only allied, but united under the same chief ; and England entered the coalition with all the eagerness of passions long restrained by the Stuart policy." The wars of the League of Augsburg and Spanish succession completed the ruin of the French navy, exhausted her people, deranged her finances and shrivelled her empire. Holland ceased to be numbered among the great powers of Europe, her navy was no longer a military factor in diplomacy, and her commerce also shared in the general decline of the state ". Holland gained nothing at sea, no colony, no station. She was hopelessly left behind. England acquired unequalled sea power by the vast superiority of her navy and the transference of the carrying trade of the world.

(*iii*) The capture of Chandarnagar and Chinsura in Bengal and the fall of Pondicherry sounded the death-knell of the French and Dutch dominions in India.

(*iv*) After the battle of Plassey the revenues of Bengal, control of the accumulated treasures of the Nawabs and growing profits from monopolized trade combined to swell the financial resources of the English, while their rivals were placed at their mercy for their very existence in Bengal and the Moghul Empire. In short, the main spring of the land campaigns and naval wars conducted by the English in India up to 1757 was their commercial supremacy, while after Plassey their political supremacy placed in their hands the financial resources of Bengal. After 1710 onwards the Dutch and the French were left far behind the English in commerce and consequently in their power to finance wars in the East. This financial stringency coupled with the political supremacy of the English ultimately spelled ruin to the Dutch commerce and power in India.

A brief sketch of the character and achievements of Thomas Saunders.

(By Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D.)

Like Clive and Hastings Saunders began his career on the lowest rung of the ladder. He could have had but little prospects on the Company's establishment at Bencoolen where he arrived as a writer at the age of 19, in July 1732[1]. Within two years, however, he got himself transferred to Madras[2], where having first served as writer to the Accountant he became a factor in 1737[3]. In 1738 he became " a sub-accountant in the room of Mr. Appleby deceased[4]." In 1739 having come of age he executed his covenants nominating Messrs. Thomas Saunders and Hickman as securities[5]. Next year found him as a second of the Council at Vizagapatam[6]. He took charge from George Stratton but was soon, in 1743, on the appointment of Richard Prince as Chief, ordered to repair to Ingeram as Resident[7]. It was while he was at Ingeram that the orders of the

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1 Letters to Fort St. George, 1732—Printed p. 7.

2 Letters to Fort St. George, 1735—Printed p. 24.

3 Fort St. George Cons. 1736—Printed p. 202 and 1737, p. 146.

4 Fort St. George Cons. 1738, p. 128.

5 Fort St. George Cons. 1739—Printed p. 27.

6 Fort St. George Cons. 1740—Printed p. 28.

7 Fort St. George Cons. 1743—Printed pp. 25, 121, 181.

Court of Directors arrived appointing him as the fifth of the Council of Fort St. David, where the seat of the Presidency had been transferred, since the loss of Madras[8]. He, however, continued as Resident at Ingeram and in December 1749 took charge of the post of Chief of Vizagapatam[9]. In July 1750 the Lynn brought the despatch from the Company appointing him to succeed Charles Floyer as Governor[10].

He must have been gratified indeed, at the age of barely 37 years[11], to have been made the head of the affairs of the Company on the Coromandel Coast. But his gratification would not have been unmixed with feelings of doubt and apprehension. For he was at once called upon to shoulder two great responsibilities. He had to face the most critical situation created by the fall of Nazar Jang and the rise of Dupleix in the politics of the Carnatic. He had, at the same time, to invigorate and reform the entire administration of the Company's affairs which had become effete and enervated. Floyer had thought more of the gaming table than of the Council Board, allowed the administration to languish and incurred the wrath of the Company[12]. Dupleix had watched, calculated, seized the right moment to ally himself with Chanda Saheb and Muzafar Jang and resolved at all costs to fight for the supremacy in the South, to set up his nominee Chanda Saheb on the Musnud at Arcot. External danger and internal decay threatened to imperil the Company's possessions. In this welter of affairs Saunders took the only bold course that was open to him. He allied himself heart and soul with the cause of Muhammad Ali and exercised the strictest control over every branch of the Company's administration.

Saunders as a Governor appears cold, stern, and at times dictatorial in the storm and stress period of his rule[13]. His association found him silent and uncommunicative. Lawrence was never sure of his sympathy ; he once accused him of having made him wait for a considerable time before he could get an audience with him[14]. He was lacking in tact and suavity in his dealings with his colleagues ; his correspondence with Lawrence and Colonel Adlercron furnish us innumerable instances in which had he displayed some tact and less reticence, he could have avoided some at least of their rancour and fretfulness[15]. Nor is there any evidence to indicate that he was sociable, that he entertained his friends and subordinates or shone well in conversation. He was indeed no orator[16] ; he was not gifted with eloquence, humour, wit or irony. But if we may judge from his writings he had some talent for sarcasm and he sometimes employed quite unconsciously a natural rhetoric. The reports of the West Coast Committee over which he presided reveal that he had a style at once vigorous and fertile, not wanting in embellishments, frank, direct, and carrying

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8 Fort St. David Cons. 1748—Printed p. 124.

9 Letters to Fort St. David, 1749—Printed p. 11.

10 Fort St. David Cons. 1750—Printed p. 165.

11 Fort St. David Cons. 1748—Printed p. 240.

12 Calendar of Madras Despatches, 1744-1755 ; Dodwell, p. vii.

13 Calendar of Madras Despatches, 1744-1755—pp. vii-viii. Dupleix and Clive—Dodwell, p. 54.

14 See Lawrence's letters to Saunders printed in the Military Cons. 1753 and 1754, especially p. 2 of Mil. Cons. of 1753.

15 See Saunders' letters to Lawrence in the Mil. Cons. of Fort St. George, 1753 and 1754, and his letters to Col. Adlercron in Mil. Cons. of 1754. See also Mil. Sundries, Nos. 6 and 7.

16 *e.g.*, on the inauguration of the Charter establishing the Mayor's Court and other Courts of Justice he is reported to have made only a brief speech. Pub. Cons. 1753, Ms. Vol. 81-B—24th Aug.

conviction in almost every sentence[17]. The same gift of direct expression, of frankness in intercourse, is discernible in his Country Correspondence, in his letters addressed to the Nawab and other country powers[18]. He detested bombast and long-windedness. Indeed in his intercourse with his friends and subordinates, and in his transactions with the merchants, he never beat about the bush ; he always went straight to the point.

This cold aloofness, though it endeared him to none, served him well in one respect. It enabled him to arrive at decisions with the utmost calmness, to perform his duties unaffected, unhampered by any feelings of fear or favour. He was perhaps the most impartial among his colleagues ; he seldom contravened the rule of seniority in promotions and where he contravened, as in the case of Clive, whom he chose for an important military mission from among the civilians, the results more than amply justified his contravention. It must be remarked that in the matter of promotions even the great Lawrence himself showed more than once his favouritism and partiality ; but Saunders opposed this tendency, whenever injustice was involved to seniors, even at the risk of rousing his anger[19]. In fact, in discharging his duties he cared little for personalities ; he opposed, censured, warned and suspended even members of Council. Whenever he and his colleagues felt it dangerous to pursue the course suggested by Lawrence, he vehemently opposed that policy and got the views of the Government enforced by that veteran notwithstanding his fumings and frettings and threats to quit the command of the army[20]. There is nothing to show, except the groundless accusations of Lawrence, that he distrusted his colleagues and subordinates. On one point, however, he was firm. He did not permit himself to be drawn into chimerical schemes or on a course of conduct which was in any way detrimental to the Company's interests. He did not allow Colonel Adlercron to interfere into the politics of the Carnatic of which he knew little ; nor did he permit him to have the sole voice in matters affecting the discipline and regulation of the Company's army, though he claimed over such matters the sole authority from the Crown[21]. The manner in which he dealt with Adlercron and Lawrence, both autocrats, who could brook no dictation, while it displays his want of tact, shows also his tenacity to preserve and his solicitude to protect the interests of the Company. He accepted their good suggestions and rejected the bad after a full discussion in Council and if they still persisted in the adoption of their views he informed them the full reasons for the non-adoption of those views, or compromised with them where compromise was possible without sacrificing any essential principle or course of conduct necessary for the well-being and safety of the Company's possessions. He established and supported the Mayor's Court against all calumnies ; but when the Mayor's Court began to question the authority of the Government, he upheld thaa authority against all opposition[22]. He did

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17 See the Reports in Pub. Cons., Vol. No. 81-B, Cons., dated 8th Oct. 1753, and Vol. 83-B, Cons., dated 7th Oct. 1854.

18 See Country Correspondence, Vols. printed for 1750-51, 1753 and 1755.

19 *e.g.*, Mil. Cons. 1753, printed p. 2.
1754, p. 135 sqq. Love's Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. II, p. 484 sqq.

20 References already given to the correspondence between Lawrence and Saunders illustrate this.

21 Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed p. 218 sqq.

22 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 25th July, 30th July.
" 1754, Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 14th Jan., 21st Jan., 28th Jan., 4th Feb., 18th Feb.
" Ms. Vol. 83-A Cons. 17th June.

everything to protect the prestige, the privileges of the Company, and impressed his strong sense of duty on all who served the Company. When Cooke, a member of the Council of Fort St. David, hesitated, procrastinated and eventually refused to go on an important political mission to Tanjore, unless he were assured of a special compensation, Saunders threatened him with dismissal, unless the orders were carried out at once[23]. Dawsonne Drake, another member of the Council, met with a similar threat when he declined on the pretext of illness to go as a supervisor to Sumatra[24]. Several other examples may be quoted by which he endeavoured to improve the discipline and conduct of the Company's service.

But, if he was a hard task-master, he was a kind and benevolent administrator. The poor, the weak and the oppressed found in him a warm patron who could always be trusted to look to their welfare even amidst the din of warfare and anarchy. His sense of justice and humanity revolted against all kinds of oppressions practised by the rich over the poor, the strong over the weak. He prohibited the craze for Pagoda-building, a craze which had originated in the ambitions of the rich to earn renown, and for which they traded on the superstitions of the poor and compelled them to contribute funds which they could ill-afford to spare[25]. He recommended to the Directors the abolition of the various duties collected by the Managers of the Pagodas from the poor worshippers for which there was neither any precedent nor any prescription[26]. He forbade the renters under strict penalties from collecting duties on horned cattle brought into Madras and on provisions and necessary articles of food[27]. He composed the disputes of the Right and Left hand castes, of the Tengala and Wadagala Brahmins, and preserved as far as possible internal peace and security within the bounds of Madras[28]. In an age of inveterate hostility towards the Roman Catholics and Armenians, an age which witnessed the demolition of the Portuguese Church in the White Town[29] and the transfer of the Church built at Vepery by Coja Petrus to the Danish Mission[30], he felt some compassion for the Roman Catholics and granted them certain privileges even against the expressed wishes of the Home Authorities. He allowed them to remain in the White Town until they could conveniently accommodate themselves in the Black Town[31], and granted certain allowances to Fathers Severini and Bernard[32]. He it was who was more than any body else responsible for bettering the lot of the coffrees, the African slaves, who were brought in ship loads from Madagascar to Madras and from thence transhipped to Sumatra to work in the Plantations. He passed a series of orders for providing them proper accommodation, food, cloathing and medical aid[33]. He gave the male members military training and transformed them into tolerably good military material[34]. Nor did he allow the coffree women to be molested by the soldiers or sepoys. A strict guard over them

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23 Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed pp. 149-151, 152—154, 159—162.
24 Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83 Cons. 5th Sep., 9th Sep. and 16th Sep.
25 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A Cons. 9th June.
26 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 31st Decr.
27 Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 7th January.
28 Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 4th May.
29 Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 30th Jan. & 20th Apr.
30 Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 9th Octr. & 20th Nov.
31 Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A Cons. 30th Janry.
32 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 6th Aug.
33 Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 1st Sep. & 24th Decr.
1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B Cons. 28th Aug.
34 Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 25th Sep.

was to be kept and any misconduct detected was to be instantly reported and punished[35]. To his sympathy for the distressed must also be attributed the close control which he exercised over hospital management. As soon as the hospital was shifted from the Fort to Peddanayague Petta he passed, on instructions from Home, a standing order to the effect that one of the members of the Council should, once a week, by turn, visit the hospital and report to the Board any defects or irregularities with suggestions for remedies[36]. The members of the Council, we notice, spoke during these visits not only to the surgeons but also to the patients and enquired into complaints. To these frequent visits must be traced a number of reforms ; the enlargement of and repairs to the hospital wards, the provision of good food during scarcity, of sufficient warm clothing during winter, and of additional ward-boys and coolies to render prompt and efficient service[37]. Above everything these visits provided a much needed control over the conduct of the surgeons.

These are not the only qualities of Saunders that strike us when we study his administration. We meet at every step instances of his ability, his vigilance, his courage, his resourcefulness and a tenacity which rarely knew any obstacles. A depreciating currency, a treasury impoverished by large drafts from the camp, a declining Investment, a society disorganised by warfare and a service unaccustomed to strict control, all these called for supreme statesmanship.

The currency problem confronted Saunders at the very beginning of his administration. He observed that the low price of silver, of rupees, had dislocated trade, discontented the service, and caused even a mutiny at Madras. Since the loss of Madras all Government payments and advances had been made in rupees. Bills drawn on Arcot from all parts of India had been formerly transmitted in rupees, but recently the merchants had given up this practice and made their return in goods. Nazar Jang had brought with him a large quantity of rupees for the payment of his troops. The net result of all this had been an abundance of rupees in the Carnatic, and this had lowered their value while the influx of gold had become very small. To remedy this evil Saunders proposed that all receipts and payments should be made in gold, *i.e.*, in pagodas and "instead of coining when our occasions require we (should) dispose of some silver[38]." Gold could only be procured by the sale of rupees and throughout the period of Saunders' rule, large quantities of rupees were exchanged for pagodas, very frequently, almost every month, to meet the demands of the State[39]. In 1754 it was ordered that all small payments, instead of being made in pagodas, should be made in fanams and for this purpose Fort St. David like Madras was asked to keep always in stock a sufficient quantity of fanams[40].

Indeed, the problem of financing the needs of the State called forth supreme exertions on the part of Saunders and his Council. As the fighting round Trichinopoly continued unabated, large and urgent demands were made from the camp while the merchants increasingly clamoured for advances that they might fulfil their contracts, that they might set the weavers to work. What was supplied by the Company was hardly found sufficient to meet these

35 Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B. Cons. 1st Sep.
36 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B. Cons. 4th Dec. sqq.
Calendar of Madras Despatches 1744-55, p. 164.
37 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 8-B. Cons. 10th Decr.
1754 Ms. Vol. 83-B Cons. 9th Sep., 31st Octr., 25th Novr. & 31st Decr.
38 Fort St. David Cons. 1750—Printed p. 248.
39 The reader will find many instances of this in the Public Consultations.
40 Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 82. Cons. 14th and 21st January.

importunate demands; many a time the Government found itself with a depleted treasury. The usual method of remittances to Fort St. David were by bills; bills drawn on the Presidency in favour of persons who had lent money at Fort St. David were cleared as fast as they were presented. The Presidency also remitted bills on the Company's servants or on the representatives of the well-known bankers of that age, Bucanjee Cassidas. It was more than once felt necessary to order Fort St. David not to issue bills of less than 10 days sight[41]. Borrowing was often resorted to and Saunders himself, we are told, lent large sums of money on urgent occasions[42]. Nor was this all. To meet the large demands Saunders and his Council often had to detain part of the treasure intended for Bengal in spite of the remonstrances of that Presidency[43].

In this period of vast expenditure on the army it was but natural that the Government should scrutinize their budget with care, excise all irregularities and attempt, if possible, to increase their resources. Saunders kept a stringent supervision over receipts and insisted that the Company's farmers should pay their instalments promptly and regularly. He never allowed them any remission unless they could show just cause and swear in their temples as to the truth of their unavoidable losses[44]. Whenever the farms expired he caused careful enquiries to be made so as to ascertain their real value that they might be farmed out at a higher sum[45]. He secured from the Nawab first the Kille of Poonamallee as a jageer to the Company[46], and then the revenues of Seven Magnams, Manamangalam, Covelong and Chingleput, as part payment of the growing debts of the Nawab to the Company[47]. He subjected every item of expenditure of the subordinate settlements to strict scrutiny, eliminated irregularities and waste and insisted on a regular transmission of the accounts every month. In cases of habitual neglect and gross irregularities he threatened to suspend even the members of Council[48]. On being apprised of certain defects in the management of the Company's works he instituted a thorough enquiry[49], appointed a Standing Committee of Works and ordered that all building materials, bricks and chunam, should be obtained on the tender system[50]. He defined the duties of the Company's Engineer; he laid down that for every construction he should first prepare estimates and that he should undertake no repairs costing over 50 pagodas without the order of the Government[51]. On his suggestion the Accountant was required to draw up monthly an abstract of the expenses of the Settlement compared with the preceding month explaining the causes of increase and decrease, so that a strict watch over expenditure might be maintained[52].

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41 *e.g.*, Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A, Cons. 17th April.
42 *e.g.*, Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. 81-B, 26th Novr.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82. Cons. 18th Feb.
43 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 9th Oct.
44 Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-B Cons. 9th Oct.
1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A & B Cons. 28th May and 10th Decr.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 25th Mar., 29th April, 6th May, 20th May, 28th May.
1754 Ms. Vol. 83-A Cons. 25th June, 15th July and 26th Aug.
45 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A & B Cons. 9th June & 4th Aug.
46 Mil. Cons. 1754—Printed pp. 137, 176 & 183.
47 Mil. Cons. 1754—Printed pp. 153, 182, 183, 185, 197, 203, 212.
48 Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83-B Cons. 26th Septr.
49 Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 82-Cons. 28th Jan., 29th April, 13th May.
50 Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 82-Cons. 29th April, 13th May and 28th May.
51 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B. Cons. 10th July.
52 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B. Cons. 10th July.

Turning to the Company's commerce Saunders could find but little satisfaction. Here there was much to improve and a great deal to do to prop up a declining Investment. Commerce can hardly flourish where war prevails and the fever of warfare which raged in the Carnatic and spread in the Deccan undermined the Company's Investment. The weavers found it impossible to pursue their trade in peace ; the merchants felt it precarious to entrust them with money ; while the Government experienced much difficulty in procuring merchants who could be expected to fulfil their contracts, and, after having procured them, in advancing them sufficient funds at a time when the demands from the camp practically impoverished the treasury[53]. Yet Saunders and his Council made every endeavour to encourage the Investment both in Madras and the subordinate factories of Fort St. David in the South, and Vizagapatam, Bandermalanka and Ingeram in the North. It is unnecessary to recount here the various strands of the political turmoil of the Carnatic and the Deccan. Suffice it to say that the almost intermittent fighting which prevailed in the South badly hit the Fort St. David Investment, while the intrigues of Bussy, the quarrels of Vizairamrauze, Jaffar Aly Cawn and the Raja of Bobbili, and the incursions of the Marathas considerably affected the Investment of the Northern Factories. To this was added in the Deccan the systematic endeavours of the French to seduce the weavers and merchants, and the scarcity of dodoos, the copper money with which alone the weavers could buy the thread in the local market. In Madras itself the Investment was in no better condition. Saunders and his Council did not fail to grasp the situation. They felt that it was impossible to expect much improvement in the midst of chaos. They frequently sent money both in the shape of cash and bills to the subordinate settlements, consented to buy even inferior cloth at an abatement[54], made urgent arrangements for the supply of dodoos to the Northern Factories[55] and advised their subordinacies to handle their merchants with tact and consideration. The merchants were not to be allowed to run into large arrears to the Company ; the deserving among them were to be advanced and encouraged, the undeserving warned and punished ; but on no account were they to be allowed to defraud the Company[56]. Saunders made some attempts to explore the possibility of providing an Investment at Devicotta[57]. In Madras itself he and his colleagues many a time called the merchants before the Board, exhorted them to fulfil their contracts, reminded them of the various privileges granted them by the Company, and sometimes also warned them that unless they improved their conduct and supplied better cloth, their services would be dispensed with and contracts made with new merchants[58]. Thus by a judicious mixture of appeal to their good sense and fears they were induced to supply the best cloth procurable in the market. New merchants were entertained only when absolutely necessary. Thus, for instance, when Linga Chetty repeatedly refused to comply with the terms offered him for the provision of fine goods, his monopoly was abolished and contracts on favourable terms were

53 The Pub. Cons. are full of these complaints.
54 Pub. Cons. 1754 Ms. Vol. 83-B. Cons. 23rd Sep., 25th Novr.
55 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B. Cons. 2nd July, 13th August.
56 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. 81-B. Cons. 14th July, 24th Sep., 30th Oct.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 11th Feb.
.. Ms. Vol. 83-A. Cons. 20th July.
57 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B. Cons. 5th Nov., 4th Dec.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 4th March, 25th March, 6th April, 3rd June.
.. Ms. Vol. 83-B. Cons. 31st October.
58 Pub. Cons. 1752 Ms. Vol. 80-A. Cons. 15th June.
1753 Ms. Vol. 81-A. Cons. 21st May.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 22nd April.

concluded with other merchants[59]. It was however not so much in the matter of providing Investment as in the disposal of European goods, particularly of broad cloth, that Saunders and his Council encountered insurmountable difficulties. There was a tolerably good demand for copper and lead ; but for broad cloth, which the Directors sent in large quantities, in every season, there was really little demand in the hot climate of the South. In spite of every endeavour, in spite of frequent auctions, in spite of the encouragements held out to the bidders the sales were poor ; and this fact much incensed the Home Authorities[60].

If Saunders showed uncommon zeal in the internal administration of the affairs of the Company, he showed an equally uncommon ability in conducting their external affairs. He served the Company for more than four critical years with consummate skill and ability. He displayed an uncanny insight into the political calculus of his able and determined rival. It was he who was largely responsible for the frustration of the grandiose schemes of Dupleix. For every move made by Dupleix he made a counter-move on the political chess-board of the Carnatic[61]. It was here that he sent Clive and Lawrence and formed combinations with the King of Tanjore and the Tondiman to counteract the French activities and alliances with the Dalavai of Mysore and the Marathas. It was here that Chanda Saheb was defeated and the cause of Muhammad Ali defended on the battlefield. It was here that he put forth all his exertions, employed all the resources of the Company[62]. Not that he was unmindful or ignorant of the French Schemes in the Deccan. He knew the helplessness of the Nizam. He beheld the growing ascendancy of Bussy. He encouraged and instigated Shanavaz Cawn, Jaffer Ali and Vizairamrauze to put up a determined opposition to the French[63]. Beyond this, however, he did not proceed for the precise reason that he did not feel justified in employing the English forces in two separate far off theatres of warfare when those forces were invariably smaller than the forces which the French could command in the Carnatic alone, and when he realized that a decisive French victory in the Carnatic implied a certain ruin to the Company's Settlements on the Coast. He was the first to foresee that the cause of Muhammad Ali was the cause of the English, that the prosperity or adversity of the one was intimately bound up with the prosperity or adversity of the other. Hence it was that he supported the Nawab with all the men and money at his disposal and refused to buy peace at Sadras unless Dupleix acknowledged the Nawab's authority[64]. It was only when the clouds gathered thick, when in spite of Lawrence's victories the strength of the enemy seemed inexhaustible, that he proposed to detach the Dalavai and to bind him to the Company and the Nawab by ceding to him Trichinopoly. This involved some sacrifices on the part of the Nawab, but he regarded these sacrifices necessary in order that larger sacrifices might be avoided and the French robbed of a powerful ally and over-

59 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B. Cons. 2nd August.

60 Pub. Cons. 1753 Ms. Vol. 81-B. Cons. 23rd April, 8th Oct., 5th Nov., 20th Decr.
1754 Ms. Vol. 82 Cons. 4th Jan., 18th Feb., 13th March, 22nd April, 13th May, 20th May.
.. Ms. Vol. 83-A & B Cons. 17th June, 16th Sep.

61 The reader is referred specially to the Military Consultation and French Correspondence Volumes of the period.

62 See Mil. Cons. Vols. for 1752, 1753 and 1754—Printed.

63 See Mil. Cons. Vol. for 1753 and 1754—Printed.

64 Mil. Cons. 1753—Printed p. 207 sqq.
1754—Printed p. 22 sqq.

thrown[65]. This policy might, no doubt, be questioned, charged with inconsistency on the ground that it implied weakening the Nawab instead of strengthening him and giving up the prestige gained at the cost of so much blood and treasure instead of pursuing it. But it was an inconsistency which he might well plead was justified by stern political necessity. For, without recourse to it, he described no prospects either for the Company or for the Nawab engaged as they were with diminishing resources in a protracted struggle with the Dalavai and Dupleix. When circumstances changed, when fresh supplies came from Europe, he attempted to organise a vast scheme to overthrow the French in the Arcot country[66]. But when Godeheu proposed peace he accepted it securing in fact for the Nawab and the Company the *status quo* and a breathing space within which to recoup themselves and to muster all their strength for the coming struggle of the Seven Years War[67].

A curious phase of Lord Pigot's Proceedings against Tanjore (1775-1776).

(By Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.)

I.

The main object of Lord Pigot's reappointment to the Governorship of Madras in 1775 was the restoration of the Kingdom of Tanjore to its dispossessed Raja. It was in 1773 that Tanjore was taken by force of arms for the Nawab of the Carnatic, while the Raja and his family were kept in prison in the fort. The Government of the Presidency declared that the Raja of Tanjore " held his lands of the Nabob in fee ", which had been all along the claim on that kingdom put forward by Nawab Muhammad Ali. The reason of the Madras Government's action is clearly seen from its resolution, dated 22nd June 1773, that " it was dangerous, in the present system, to have such a power as the Raja of Tanjore in the heart of the Carnatic " ; and that it was " expedient, for the safety of the Carnatic and the Company's possessions, that the Raja of Tanjore should be reduced ". The Select Committee at the Presidency held that the measure was in fact founded on the law and principle of self-defence. They upheld the claim of Nawab Muhammad Ali that the ' Zemindar of Tanjore ', as he was called, was a mere vassal of the Carnatic and held his country by certain tenures, which he had avowedly and repeatedly broken and violated ; and that, in consequence of such breaches and violations, his feudal lord was authorised by the law of nations and every principle of justice to dispossess him. But then the question would naturally follow if the Nabob was authorised to dispossess him, " by what law or what justice did the Court of Directors take upon them to send orders to restore him, in breach of a solemn treaty made by the King (George III) and approved of by the Parliament of Great Britain ? " and whether it was prudent, for a few Directors in Leadenhall Street, to violate, by means of their orders, the " engagements of the Nation ? ".

The Madras Council informed the Court of Directors of their seizure of Tanjore (in 1773) and of their being assured by letters from the Raja and his mother to the Nawab that they were treated " with much attention and

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65 Mil. Cons. 1754—Printed pp. 55, 62 sqq., 71, 76—78, 94—96, 104—106, 144—147, 159, 173—175.

66 Mil Cons 1754—Printed p. 276 sqq.

67 Mil. Cons. 1754—Printed pp. 176-177, 187-188, 195, 201, 205-206, 214-215, 225—227, 233—235, 250, 256-257, 273, 282-283, 286—288, 290—298.

humanity in their confinement ". No observations on this subject proceeded from the Court of Directors for some months after the news reached them.

II.

Early in 1775, the Court of Directors appointed Mr. Rumbold, by a small majority, to the Governorship of Madras which was to fall vacant shortly. But a Court of Proprietors, which was summoned to review the appointment, reversed the previous decision by another equally small majority and appointed Lord Pigot, who, since he retired from the Madras Governorship in 1763, had contrived to become a Baronet and an Irish Peer. He enjoyed great influence with the Directors ; and we learn from James Mill that he desired " to rival the glory of Clive by introducing the same reforms under the Presidency of Madras, as that illustrious Governor had introduced in Bengal "[1]. Pigot was decided in his mind that he should effect the restoration of the Raja of Tanjore as he had, during his former Governorship, assured him of his possession of the throne. Mill would not exonerate him completely from animation by unworthy motives in such a desire. Pigot's favourite Dubash, Manali Muthukrishna Mudali, who had rebuilt the Madras Town Temple and became its warden, and for whom he continued to experience a partiality, had rented a considerable area of land from the Tanjore Raj ; moreover, Pigot had been offended with Nawab Muhammad Ali, who first appointed him his agent in England, but " failed in those remittances which made the place of agent desirable ". Again, there existed at the time an active bid between the Nawab and the Raja for securing the favour of the most influential servants of the Company. No wonder, therefore, that Pigot persuaded the Directors to declare their decision on the business of Tanjore shortly before the Proprietors met to choose the new Directors[2].

Curiously enough, the retiring Directors, in the preamble to their resolution, used much ambiguous language and decided, at the end of it, that the expedition of 1773 was founded upon pretences which were totally false, that the Raja was not proved to have committed any offence and that the destruction of his power had only increased the danger to the Company ; and at the end of their despatch, they declared their order to be as follows :—" The Presidency were first to provide security, by a proper guard, for the persons of him and his family ; and next, but under certain conditions, to restore him to his dominions, as they existed in 1762. The conditions were, that he should receive a garrison of the Company's troops into the Fort of Tanjore ; assign lands for their maintenance ; pay to the Nabob the *peshcush* of 1762 ; assist him with such troops alone as the Presidency shall join in requiring ; form no treaty with foreign powers, except in concurrence with the English rulers ; and neither directly nor indirectly furnish any assistance to their enemies."

III.

Pigot, after he assumed charge of the Governorship in December 1775, declared that the injunctions of the Directors were to proceed immediately to the restoration of the Raja of Tanjore, but that this order should be communicated to the Nawab with all possible delicacy. The Council first made use of the offer made by the Nawab that he would consent to admit an English garrison into the Tanjore fort, as it would enable the Presidency at once to set the Raja at liberty and to guard his person.

1 *History of British India* (1848)—Vol. IV (Book V, Chap. 4), p. 119.

2 *Vide* below, p. 57.

In a conference that the Nawab had with Pigot on the 12th January 1776, the former received such treatment from the latter as brought upon him a severe indisposition. The next conference, which took place four days later, had therefore to be negotiated only with his sons, Omdat-ul-Omrah and Amir-ul-Omrah ; and the result was that the Nawab wrote a letter to the Governor "hoping, perhaps, from the profusion of his Lordship's tears, at the conference of the 16th, that he would relent, and listen to his proposals, as well as have some regard to his rights". The letter was an answer to that of his Lordship, dated December 30, 1775[3].

It was even contended on behalf of the Nawab that the Court of Directors at the date of the final signing of their despatch were not a regular court as that day happened to be the day of the election of a new Court by the Proprietors ; and this was a matter which courts of law alone could decide. Of course this contention was not then communicated either to Pigot or to the Court.

On the 25th of January, the Nawab was forced to send the following note to Lord Pigot :—" I have perused the strict order of the Company given to my Friend, and have written a reply thereto in mine of the 22nd instant, THAT AGREEABLE TO THAT I HAVE CONSENTED, and that I have given permission for their garrison to be put in Tanjore. Fifteen days hence you may send your people, and I shall withdraw my own supernumerary people[4] ". This was the contention made on behalf of the Nawab later in the course of the controversy.

Pigot wrote very stiffly to the Nawab on the 23rd of February, asking for definite information, as to what and how many orders had been given by the Nawab for the payment of money on the Tanjore country. He fixed that the 9th of February should be the date for commencing his receipt of the revenues of Tanjore and when the officers of the Nawab should relinquish all manner of authority. January-February is the general season in South India for the harvesting of the rice crop ; and by the middle of February practically the entire harvest will be completed. Naturally, the question could be asked why the Governor, who had positive orders for giving back Tanjore to the Raja, should have delayed for over two months from his arrival in the first week of December ; and whether his negotiations at Madras took up all his time, as was commonly believed. It was suggested by the Nawab's people, in scarcely subdued tones, that the Governor's Dubash, who had claims on the Tanjore revenues, could, if he pleased, answer this question. It was also pleaded that a remarkable fact was for Pigot to have sanctioned that the Company's Commanding Officer at Tanjore considered the Raja to be a prisoner even after the Nawab had delivered up the fort to the English garrison ; and it was suggested pointedly that Raja Tulajaji would not remember the favour of his release by Pigot's efforts, if he had been set up at liberty before the arrival of Lord Pigot himself at Tanjore. Pigot desired the Nawab to write

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3 Page 14 ; " Original Papers relative to Tanjore ; containing all the Letters which passed, and the Conferences, which were held, between His Highness the Nawab of Arcot and Lord Pigot, on the subject of the Restoration of Tanjore. Together with the material Part of Lord Pigot's last Despatch to the East India Company. The whole connected by a Narrative, and illustrated with Notes and Observations ". These letters of the Nawab were transmitted by a special messenger in a French ship that left Pondicherry in July 1776, shortly after the events described in them took place.

4 To the words in capitals the Nawab did not consent according to his advocate.

a letter to him *that the Raja would always be disobedient and that his nature leads him to this*[5].

As the Nawab strenuously adhered to his rights, Pigot came to confer with him on the day after the receipt of his pleading ; and in the reported conference between His Highness and His Lordship, dated the 20th March 1776, is revealed what is alleged to be the true motive for his return to India. "His Lordship said, it was his opinion, that His Highness had desired it, and that the Company had done it. He further said, that he had, in England, began the business of restoring to the Raja his country, as his honour was concerned therein ; that he was the beginner of this business, and would go to England after he had finished it. That the business of this place was so far confused, that it could not be settled by his hands ; and that, no doubt, it was of great prejudice to him. That the King and Parliament would do him great injury on account of this business, and would take his estate from him. ....His Lordship said, that if any delay happened in this business, the people of England would think that he could not do it, and would send Mr. Rumbold here." In another letter, dated 26th March 1776, from Lord Pigot to the Nawab, we read that he found himself obliged to observe, "that the business of Tanjore has been well deliberated by my Masters, has been by them condemned, and their orders in consequence were not delivered to me, till after they had been laid before His Majesty's Ministers for their approval....................My Masters gave you their support, when you were alike destitute of money and of power ; they will continue their support to you, but the public faith is pledged to the Raja of Tanjore, as well as to Your Highness ; and the orders to me are, 'That the country of Tanjore shall be again put into the possession of the Raja'.". Pigot then claimed that "the world will justify me in the obedience I shew to the orders of my Masters ; and having never failed in the part of friendship, in respect and in propriety of behaviour towards you, I trust I shall now stand excused, after the pressing manner I have so often urged Your Highness to do that which is right and proper, as well respecting your interest as your dignity". The Governor once more visited the Nawab on the 26th of March and wrote the following paper with his own hand and delivered it to His Highness in the presence of his five sons :—"As I am now going to Tanjore, I hope the Nabob will let the little time there is, be employed, in considering which way I can execute the Company's orders, the most to his satisfaction ; and that when I come away from Tanjore, he will be so good as to let Nagis Cawn accompany me, as a guard ; it will have a good appearance in the eyes of the world, and shew the faith and confidence Lord Pigot has in the Nabob's officers and troops".

IV.

The Nawab, finally perceiving that Lord Pigot was adamant in his resolution about the restoration of Tanjore to the Raja, submitted a last alternative proposal, namely, that after discharging the debt which he had contracted on account of the Tanjore country and deducting the expenses that he had been at on account of that country and on account of the English garrison which he received into the fort, he would "keep the revenues in his own possession without expending one shilling of them till the further order of the Company

5 Extract from the Translation of Paper which Lord Pigot desires that His Highness the Nabob should write to him, received the 28th *Mohurram*, 1190 Hegira, or 19th March 1776. This is a strange character of the Raja, by the very man who restores him ! If he is a dangerous and profligate man, how can Lord Pigot, how can those who gave the orders, answer for having placed the power of doing harm in his hands ?

arrives.". He further added these significant and appealing words : "The difference between Your Lordship's intentions and mine is this, Your Lordship wishes to do this business by force, and without my consent, and I want to delay it, till the Company's letter arrives from England. Do me the favour to attend to this representation of your old friend."

Pigot now despaired of the possibility of ever inducing the Nawab to relinquish his rights and finally left Madras on the 29th of March—30th is the date mentioned by Mill. Even after Pigot had marched beyond Cuddalore, the Nawab wrote to him thus : "I should have been glad if Your Lordship had returned to me from Cuddalore instead of proceeding from thence.".

Pigot based his restoration of the Raja on a treaty that he himself forced on the Raja in 1762, to which the English became guarantors and proclaimed that in direct violation of the above treaty which, according to the Nawab's letter of the 17th of July 1762, was to continue in force only during the reign of Pratab Singh and which had been superseded by the posterior orders of the Company, the troops of the Company at the instigation of the Nawab removed the Raja from his Government.

V.

The Madras Council, during these negotiations, was divided into two sections and violently agitated by both internal and external influences. In January 1776, it became possessed of a document headed "A Short Memorial of Services to His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, Walaujau, etc., by—, whom he sent upon a secret Commission to His Majesty's first Minister of State, 1767." It set forth the proceedings of Mr. John Macpherson in England and his negotiations on behalf of the Nawab ; and it alleged that the anonymous author had published pamphlets extolling the virtues of the Nawab and really had the notice and portrait of Wallajah published in Major Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan,* 2nd edition, 1770. Macpherson was summoned before the Council and declined to give a definite answer whether he was the author of the paper, but represented that the transactions mentioned therein related to a time anterior to the date when he became a servant of the Company. Macpherson was dismissed from the Company's service by a Consultation of 23rd January 1776. Of the two members of the Council who dissented, one was Sir Robert Fletcher who claimed that, as the principal military officer of the Presidency, he should be the person by whom the act of the restoration of the Raja should be done. Even then the Council resolved by a unanimous vote that the President should proceed on the business and that as the crops were ready for harvesting, no time should be lost in giving possession of the country to the Raja. Fletcher was, indeed, a party to the unanimous resolution ; but he now proposed to send along with Pigot two other members under express and particular instructions of the Board, "declaring that without this condition he would not have assented to the vote in favour of the President ; that the Board were not justified in the delegation of undefined and unlimited powers, except in a case of extreme necessity ; and that, if this measure were drawn into a precedent, the effect would be to serve the corrupt interests of individuals at the expense of the public.".

The proposal was rejected by a majority of the Council ; but Pigot took with him two members of his own choice, including the second person, who had voted for the deputation. It is unnecessary to extend the narrative of this miserable transaction beyond this stage. The object is to show how there had been an amount of obvious disingenuousness on the part of Pigot that bade fair to rival that of the Nawab and how from a close study of the correspondence

that passed between him and the Nawab, his attitude does not come out unscathed. We even learn from this correspondence that Pigot made a motion in the Council that it should be recommended to the Nawab to remove to Arcot and only lost the proposal on a division of seven to four.

Pigot's avowed object in going back to India in 1775 was said to be the restoration of Tanjore to its Raja and the Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors was aware of his desire. He at first proposed that the Nawab should be persuaded to make an assignment of an allowance suitable to the Raja's dignity and a guard for the protection of his person. But by persuasion at the India House, Pigot obtained orders from the Chairman for the total restoration of the Raja. The orders lay for a fortnight in the India Office before the requisite number of signatures could be obtained from the Directors, and the document was completely authenticated only on the very day of the annual election of the Directorate, namely, the 12th April 1775, when the Court of Proprietors met to choose the new Directors, and when it could be legally maintained the authority of the old Directors became suspended*.

Some Documents on the History of Cochin.

(By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A.)

The Cochin State Manual contains the statement : 'The first mention of Cochin, so far as known at present, is made, sixty years after the formation of the harbour, by Ma Huan, a Chinese Mahomedan attached to the suite of Cheng Ho ',[1] and cites the summary of Ma Huan's account given by Geo. Phillips in the JRAS, 1896, pp. 341-4. Ma Huan's work was first published in 1451 though his visit to Cochin took place earlier[2]. And there was another writer in the suite of Cheng Ho, though we do not know in what capacity he accompanied the mission. His name was Fei Sin. His notice of Cochin was published earlier than that of Ma Huan.

Cochin is usually taken to have come into existence in 1341 A.D., the era of Pudu Vaippu (new deposit). And the city is referred to by its name Ku-chi first in relation to Cheng Ho's celebrated voyages. This famous eunuch commander of the Chinese armadas visited Cochin and its neighbourhood more than once, and the occasions of his visit as determined by the most recent researches of Duyvendak and Pelliot may be noted here.

1407. Cheng Ho left Calicut for China sometime after 8th February 1407, after his visit to that place[3] in the course of his first voyage in the Southern and Western Seas.

(?) 1410. Second visit to the Malabar coast in the course of the second mission (1409-11). Cochin specially mentioned as one of the places visited. Fei Sin was in this mission.

(?) 1413. Third visit to Malabar coast in the third mission (1412-15). Cochin, Calicut and Maldives are named among the countries

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For a vindication of the defence of the Tanjore Raja, see the obviously partial pamphlet entitled "An Enquiry into the Policy of making Conquests for the Mohometans in India by the British Arms," in answer to a Pamphlet entitled "Considerations on the Conquest of Tanjore", London (1773).

1 Page 2.

2 Duyvendak *Ma Huqu Re-examined* (Amsterdam, 1933).

3 T'oung Pao 1933, p. 276 *n.* 1.

visited. Cheng Ho went past India for the first time in this voyage and visited Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Ma Huan took part in this voyage, but not Fei Sin. This was the first visit of Ma Huan to Cochin[4].

(?) 1417. Fourth voyage of Chen Ho (1416-19) reaching up to Africa. Neither Ma Huan nor Fei Sin formed part of this mission. And we can infer the states visited by Cheng Ho in this voyage only from the general statement in the Ming annals that on this occasion Cheng Ho was asked by the Emperor to accompany the envoys of different countries then present in China back to their homes, and among the countries that had sent embassies to China in 1416 were Aden, Ormuz, Calicut and Cochin[5].

1421-2. The fifth voyage of Cheng Ho in which Ma Huan seems to have participated. This must have been a very rapid voyage, for though its duration is little more than a year and a half, it touched Djofar in Arabia and Mogodishu in E. Africa, and as a result of it fifteen states including Calicut, and possibly Cochin, sent embassies to China.

The sixth voyage was a short one (1424-5) and of no interest to us as it did not come to India. The seventh and last voyage of Cheng Ho is important. Both Fei Sin and Ma Huan were in it. Thus,

(?) 1432. Last visit of Cheng Ho, Fei Sin and Ma Huan in the course of the seventh voyage (1431-33). No fewer than twenty countries were visited on this occasion including Maldives, Quilon, Cochin, Calicut, Djofar, Ormuz and Aden. And Ma Huan used the occasion for a voyage to Mecca in the company of other pilgrims from Calicut.

We thus see that Cochin was visited by Cheng Ho surely thrice, possibly five times ; Fei Sin visited it twice and Ma Huan twice or possibly three times. It may be noted that the accounts of these voyages leave little room for doubt that in that period, though Calicut was much better known, and enjoyed the prestige of a long established port, Cochin was fast coming up as an important emporium. A casual statement of Gaspar Correa lays stress on the antiquity of Calicut as a port and the trade connections of the Chinese with the Malabar coast. He says : " By the time the Portuguese ships arrived (at Calicut in 1498) four centuries had elapsed since the year when there came more than eight hundred sailing ships from Malacca, China and the land of the Lequeos (Formosa),—ships, great and small, manned by people of various nationalities and charged with very rich merchandise which they brought for sale. They came to Calicut, navigated the entire coast up to Cambay, and they were so numerous that they spread themselves over the whole country[6] ".

Fei Sin's work *Hsing cha Sheng lan* or ' Description of the star raft ' bears a preface dated 18th January, 1436[7], and must have been published soon after,

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4 The statement in the Cochin State Manual (p. 44) that Ma Huan's first visit was in 1409 is now obsolete.

5 T.P. 1933, p. 295.

6 Cited by Ferrand JA : 11 : 12 (1918) p. 131.

7 T.P. Vol. XXX (1933) p. 267.

Ma Huan's work, on the other hand, underwent many revisions at least from 1416 onwards and was not actually published before 1451[8]. It is thus clear that Fei Sin's first visit to Cochin was some two or three years before Ma Huan's, and his brief account of the city is the earliest published account available from the Chinese sources relating to the period. In Rockhill's translation, that account reads as follows :

" This locality is on a headland facing Hsi-lan (Ceylon). To the interior it confines on Ku-li (Calicut). The climate is constantly hot, the soil is poor, the crops sparse. The villages are on the sea-shore. The usages and customs are honest.

" Men and women do their hair in a knot and wear a short shirt and a piece of cotton stuff wrapper around them.

" There is a caste of people called Mu-kua (Mukuva) ; they have no dwellings but live in caves, or nests in the trees. They make their living by fishing in the sea. Both sexes go with the body naked and with a girdle of leaves or grass hanging before and behind. If one of them meets someone, he must crouch down and hide himself by the way-side, where he must wait until he has passed by.

" The natural product is a great abundance of pepper. Wealthy people put up broad godowns in which to store it. In their trading transactions they use a small gold coin called *panan* (*fanam*). The goods used in trading are coloured satins, white silk, blue and white porcelain-ware, gold and silver.

" Its ruler in grateful recognition of the Imperial bounty constantly sends presents to our Court[9]".

It will be seen that Fei Sin's geography is poor, and the information he gives rather meagre. Ma Huan's account which is fuller is much better known as it has been reproduced by Geo. Phillips in the JRAS for 1896 and in the Cochin Manual. There is another version of the same account by Rockhill in T'oung Pao, XVI, pp. 449-52. His descriptions of the religion and dress of the king and the nobles, of houses, of caste, and of the climate, produce, trade organisation and currency system of the country are all shrewd and informing. We see that Cochin was already a considerable port half a century before the arrival of the Portuguese.

In the early years of the sixteenth century the port of Cochin passed definitely into the hands of the European powers, the Portuguese holding it for about 160 years, the Dutch for about 130 years afterwards till it passed into the hands of the English in 1795. On both the occasions when it changed hands passing from the Portuguese to the Dutch, and from the Dutch to the English, the general appearance of the city underwent sweeping changes, many buildings being destroyed, fortifications altered and so on. All that was distinctive of the city and its historic associations disappeared in 1806 when, in their eagerness to prevent the fine city passing into the hands of the French, of which there was some danger at the time, the English East India Company carried out a thoroughgoing destruction by means of gunpowder of all the fortifications and public buildings of any importance.

Cochin must have been a very imposing city under the Portuguese. Baldaeus says that within some years after the Portuguese occupation of it, ' this city began to increase so considerably, that it might compare with some of

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8 T. P. Vol. XXX (1933).
9 T.P. XVI, p. 452.

the best in Europe, its length being near two English miles '. Again, ' Cochin may for its bigness justly challenge the second place after Goa among the Indian cities formerly in the possession of the Portuguese, though at present (c. 1672) it is not near so big as the city of Batavia '. Lastly, " The river runs on the back-side of the best houses of the city, where they catch fish with casting nets, at which the Chinese, inhabiting there, are very dexterous. Formerly this city could boast of divers stately churches since demolished by the Dutch. The Jesuits' church and college facing the sea-shore, had a lofty steeple, and a most excellent set of bells ; the college, which was three stories high, and contained about twenty or thirty apartments, being surrounded with a strong wall. The cathedral was also a noble piece of architecture, adorned with two rows of pillars, and a lofty steeple.

" The church and convent of the Austin friars stood upon the bank of the river ; and the church of the Dominicans, with their convents, were two rare pieces of workmanship beautified with a double row of pillars of most excellent stone. The church and monastery of the Franciscans is the only one that remains standing as yet, but has no more than two brothers left, who are allowed the free exercise of their religion[10] ".

The course of events leading to the capture of Cochin by the Dutch is well known in its outline, and may be read in several modern works[11]. I wish to draw attention to some documents bearing directly on this subject that have been published in recent years and go far to supplement our knowledge of these events. The capture of Cochin was preceded by that of Cranganur, and this place surrendered to the Dutch on January 15, 1662, after a short siege of a fortnight's duration. The terms of the surrender may now be read as No. CCLI in Heeres' *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando Indicum* Vol. II (Bijdragen tot de Taal—, Land— en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, Deel 87, 1931.) It is a short document of seven clauses. First, the town of Cranganur with its jurisdictions to be surrendered to the Dutch company and its representatives ; second, all Portuguese officers and soldiers of the militia shall march out with flying colours, drums beating, bullets in their mouth and fuses alight, and having laid down their arms before the Dutch commander, march within the city to await the earliest occasion for their transport at the Company's convenience ; third, all topasses and natives of free birth shall remain within the town of Cranganur till forthcoming July ; fourth, all the clergy to be sent to Goa on the first possible occasion ; fifth, no one to take out anything more than their bedding and such other articles as the general may permit ; sixth, all other things to be surrendered to the general to the profit of the Dutch Company particularly artillery, rifles of all sorts, ammunition of war, slaves, etc., belonging to the king of Portugal ; lastly, all the married women and daughters of free birth shall be transported to Cochin or Goa. There is a note at the end that the document reached Batavia and was entered in the dag-register on the 15th June following.

Van Goens' attempt to take Cochin in February 1662 ended in failure, and he had to leave the Malabar coast before the outbreak of the S. W. monsoon. But he had definite intentions of returning to the charge when the ensuing

10 *Churchill's voyages* (ed. 1732) Vol. iii, pp. 567-68. I was enabled to consult this work in Madras by the kind courtesy of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

11 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, pp. 49-50 : Galletti and others—*The Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 11 ff. *The Cochin State Manual*—pp. 87ff. Also K. P. Padmanabha Menon—*History of Kerala*, Vol. I, pp. 161—207 where he also cites almost all the known notices of Cochin at different times. The work is really an edition of Visscher's letters from Malabar with an elaborate and useful, if somewhat ill-arranged, commentary.

monsoon was over, and accordingly he entered into a number of definite alliances with the Indian princes of Malabar before he returned to Batavia. These treaties may now be detailed with a brief abstract of their terms as they are found in the pages of Heeres' *Corpus*.

ccliii—7th March, 1662. Treaty between the Zamorin and the Dutch East India Company represented by Ryklof van Goens, comprising fourteen clauses. Declaration of mutual friendship ; Zamorin to supply 2000 Nair soldiers commanded by himself or by a prince of his blood to the fighting strength of the Dutch Company in his territory ; also to supply 300 coolies for day labour ; the Dutch to have monopoly of pepper trade in Zamorin's lands and to carry the pepper that he may like to send to Mekka (Mocha given by Valentyn seems to be more correct) ; the Zamorin to supply timber and other material needed for defensive purposes or let the Dutch gather them by means of their coolies ; when the Dutch conquer Cochin, the Zamorin will demolish the fortifications of Cranganur and share with the Dutch the treasures taken from the Portuguese in accordance with terms already agreed on ; that the Dutch will be responsible for the defence of Cranganur, Palliport, and Vypeen till next November, the future being left for further negotiation later ; that this contract be taken to include the kings of Cranganur, Paliat and all Malabar princes. The treaty also contains provisions for the regulation of the details of trade, extradition of offenders and like matters.

ccliv—12th March, 1662. This is not a treaty in the usual sense. It is an instruction or request from the Paliat Achan, Komi Menon, to the Dutch Company to protect him from danger from the Portuguese and other enemies who have hostile designs against him and his possessions in Vypeen and elsewhere. The Achan recognises the supremacy of the Zamorin and the protection afforded by his power, and seeks the Dutch protection in addition, the danger being so great. A shrewd stroke of business on the part of the ' Palietter ' as the Dutch call him. The document was signed on board the *Muskatboom*.

The year is given as 1661 at the end in the copy in the contract book from which Heeres reproduces the document. Heeres thinks it a mistake ; but 1661 occurs also in Padmanabha Menon's version of this treaty *op. cit.* pp. 514-15 and the date is not historically impossible. The Dutch had not yet formed clear plans of action on the W. coast ; on the other hand earlier treaties with Malabar powers are known.

cclv—31st March, 1662. Further articles supplementary to the treaty, dated 7th January 1659, between the Dutch company on one side and king of Travancore and queen of ' Singnatie ' (Jayatunganad) on the other regulating their mutual rights and obligations regarding Quilon. Conquered by the Dutch for the first time in December 1658, Quilon had to be taken a second time three years later in December 1661, as the natives and the Portuguese had captured it in the interval. The second seizure was the occasion for the supplementary treaty concluded by Van Goens before his departure for Batavia. This is a document of 22 clauses of which Nos. 3—13 reproduce the old treaty of 1659. The new treaty opens by stating that all the recent injuries the parties had inflicted on each other should be forgotten and forgiven. The old treaty should be renewed and re-affirmed in every respect. The terms of this old treaty transferred all the Portuguese properties in Quilon to the Dutch and regulated among other things their trade privileges, including licensing fees and tolls to be levied by them, the annual presents they have to give to the Princes of the land and so on. The new clauses state that the trade will be resumed once more and that the Dutch will evince their renewed friendliness to the queen by restoring

the artillery they had taken from her palace together with some new presents, and regulate in closer detail the methods of dealing with offenders on either side and the law applicable to them. The raja of Travancore and the raja of Kāyangulam (Colecoulangh) stand guarantors for the performance of the Dutch promises to the queen (cl. 16).

cclvi—also 31st March, 1662. This is also a renewal of an old alliance dating from 1643 with the king of Kāyangulam—tot naeder verbintenisse end verklaringh, for closer friendship and the clearer understanding of the old treaty of 1643 which would continue in full force (zall zijn en blijven in volle weerde). The king with whom the original alliance had been concluded was dead, and this was perhaps the reason for the new treaty. There was also the need to declare clearly the Dutch intention not to leave the Malabar coast in view of the uncertainty caused by Goens' failure before Cochin and his return to Batavia. The new treaty provides for a strict monopoly in the pepper trade of Kāyangulam in favour of the Dutch to the exclusion of all others, particularly the English French and Portuguese. The king was to forbid all export by others, by land or sea ; pepper caught while being transported unlawfully will be confiscated and divided equally between the Company and the king. The Company was to have the privilege of building a factory house of stone on the seaside or river bank for storing pepper, of the dimensions allowed by the king. The document is signed for the Company by Ysbrant Godsken commissioned on this behalf by Van Goens.

In his short preface to this document. Heeres states that Van Goens left the Malabar coast at the beginning of March 1662 leaving behind Godsken and others to represent him and refers to Schouten *Voyagie* I, 300. I have not been able to consult Schouten, but I rather think that Van Goens did not leave Quilon before the end of March. He signed the last treaty with Quilon, and deputed Godsken to sign the treaty with Kāyangulam, because he could not be in two places on the same day, and obviously he was in a hurry to leave for Batavia. This brings us to the end of the documents relating to the dispositions made by Van Goens after the failure of his first attempt to take Cochin.

I now come to the series of documents relating to the actual capture of Cochin by the Dutch in January 1663. And the first of the series, which has somewhat baffled Heeres[12], is interesting because it reveals the part played by the Anjikaimal on this occasion of which we have had no account so far. By the end of December 1662 it became clear that the Portuguese would soon lose Cochin to the Dutch. But obviously the Dutch did not rely solely on the strength of their arms and employed all diplomatic methods open to them to attract the numerous princelings of the land to their side. The Anjikaimals, who were rulers of Ernakulam and the surrounding area to the north and east, went over to the Dutch side, and this is witnessed by the next document noticed here.

ccxii--4th January, 1663. The Anjikaimal having expressed his readiness to be then and ever the friend and servant of the Dutch company, forsaking all his old relations with the Portuguese, Goda Varma (Godorme), and Porkad (Porca) and their allies, the Dutch promised in their turn to uphold the position, dignity and honour of the Kaimal. The document is signed by the Anjikaimal for himself (notice the singular) and, on behalf of the Dutch, by Lucas Van Waarden, Councillor and secretary to the expedition, at the command of Van

12 The name Añjikaimal is applied both to the ruler and his land, so called because it was generally ruled by five Kaimals (Chieftains). But the name occurs only in the singular on the document before us.

Goens. The document is also attested by Palitter (Paliyat Achan) as well as two persons in the service of Anjikaimals.

cclxiii—not dated, but certainly January 1663. Recognition by the Raja of Porkad of the Dutch conquest of his territory.

cclxiv—also not dated but most likely of the same date as the last. By this document the king of Cochin appoints to the office of Ragidoor (Minister ?) the Dutch captain Hendrick Reyns (which Heeres thinks may be a mistake of Hendrick van Rheede) besides the Palietter Ittekomeren. Heeres thinks that this appointment was made before victory was gained against the Portuguese when the land was in revolt against the king who was on the side of the Dutch. Heeres also raises the question if Paliyat Ittekumaran of this document is different from Paliyat Komi Menon of ccliv.

cclxv—also undated and assigned by Heeres to the period before the fall of Cochin, is a curious document. Its preamble calls it an *ola* of satisfaction which the king of Idapalli (Repolijn) rendered on account of the death of a Topass whom the Raja had caused to be killed and in whose place he had surrendered to the Company one of his nairs along with the rifle of the dead man. It then proceeds to set forth details regarding facilities promised by the Raja for the purchase of pepper by the Company in his territory.

cclxvi—8th January, 1663. This is the well-known treaty of peace between the Portuguese Commander of Cochin and the Dutch containing the terms of the surrender[13]. The date of the document is usually given as 7th January. The entry at the end shows that the terms were negotiated on the 7th and ratified on the 8th.

cclxvii—Some date between 8th January and 15th February, 1663. Raja of Mangatti territory, immediately north of Anjikaimal, declared himself friend of the Dutch company.

cclxviii—15th February, 1663, relates to the evacuation and handing over of Cranganore to the native powers, *viz.*, the Raja of Cranganore, and the Zamorin as his overlord. Only Van Goens and secretary Huisman sign the paper.

cclxx—22nd February, 1663, with a supplement dated 26th February. The preamble to this record reads : " Confirmation of friendship made and newly cemented between the Great Zamorin and the United Dutch East India Company on the separation of the Zamorin from the lands of the king of Cochin, written and translated into Dutch as follows by the third prince and successor himself ". The date is given in Malabar era as well as in the Christian, 16 Kumbham (Camboe) 838 corresponding to 22nd February, 1663. The treaty is concluded in the city of Cochin. It is just an alliance for mutual friendship and defence against common enemies to last as long as the sun and moon endure.

cclxxi—1st March, 1663. Preamble : ' Translation of an *ola* of friendship and alliance between the ruler of Parur and the company '. Parur is just north of Mangatti.

cclxxii—14th March, 1663[14]. This is an important tripartite treaty of alliance and confederation among the Dutch company, the king of Cochin and

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13 See *Dutch in Malabar*, p. 14.

14 Copy in Menon ii, pp. 115—17. The Rajas of Cochin and Porkad are called here Perinbadappu valia Tampauran and Chempakasseri Swarupam respectively in the preamble. The date is given as 14th Meenam 838. There are other variations in the clauses. Presumably Mr. K. P. P. Menon gets his copies from the Cochin records ; he does not mention his source.

the raja of Porkad. Porkad had been fighting on the side of the Portuguese, and this treaty is a recognition of the new situation arising out of the Dutch conquest of Cochin. There are twelve short clauses providing for mutual amnesty and perpetual friendship for the future. The Raja of Porkad promised to regulate the pepper and cinnamon trade in his country according to the wishes of the king of Cochin and the Dutch, to allow the Dutch to build a stone factory (pakhuis), not to export or import elephants, to demolish part of the fortifications he had erected against Cochin and to leave the rest to be repaired at the pleasure of the company or Cochin, and lastly to allow the Dutch all the privileges that the Portuguese had ever enjoyed. In their turn, the Dutch promise him protection against his enemies. The document will be made in six copies—three on paper in Dutch, and three on silver *olas* in Malayalam—attested by all parties, and each party shall keep one copy in either language.

ccxxiii—20th March, 1663[15]. This is the definitive treaty of alliance between the Dutch and the king of Cochin, called here Moetadaville, *i.e.*, Mūtta Tāvaḷi, after he had been duly installed on the 6th March. The king cedes to the Dutch in perpetuity the lands held by the Portuguese in his territory, and accepts the Dutch company, to whom he owes the crown, as his protector. He promises the monopoly in pepper and cinnamon trade to the Dutch and to regulate the traffic by sea to secure this end and allow the Dutch to erect the strongholds needed for this purpose at Palliport, Pokad and Vypeen. The Dutch Admiral promises on behalf of the company to maintain the king in his state and pay him tolls according to custom or agreement. All Christians living on the seashore were to be under Dutch jurisdiction. Provisions follow for the regulation of justice, coinage, the trade of native merchants and the prohibition of the entry of foreign priests, particularly the Jesuits.

I would conclude by citing an interesting passage in the *Memoirs* of François Martin who spent some days in Cochin in January 1669 on his outward voyage from France to Surat[16]. "The town of Cochin is very celebrated in the conquests of the Portuguese in India. It is the first place they had to themselves. People who have read the histories of this nation would have known of the fine things they have done there supported by the king of the country against the Zamorin or Emperor of Calicut. It was the capital of their possessions before the capture of Goa by Alfonso Albuquerque to whom History has given the name of the Great. The town flourished long in their hands. It is beautiful and big, the churches well built, as well as the other buildings. The Dutch took it from the Portuguese in the year——. There have been nevertheless some protests against this capture, the king of Portugal holding that this action was against the terms and subsequent to the treaty of peace concluded between the two nations in Europe[17]; but such protests must needs be upheld more by right of force than by way of proceedings. The Dutch have ridiculed them and have guarded the place, of which they have fortified more than half to economise the garrison that they have been obliged to hold there. They were working at these fortifications when we passed by it. We wanted to walk along the walls of the town, but we were made to understand that the governor would not like it and perhaps would prevent us from it, and we gave up the idea. At present it is a town with up-to-date and very good fortifications. The most

15 Copy in Padmanabha Menon ii, pp. 92—94 of notes. Raja of Cochin, Virakerala Swarupam belonging to the Mutta Taval of the Chaliyūr branch. The coinage clause 11 of Dutch text becomes 14 in the other.

16 Vol. I, pp. 183-84 ed. A. Martineau.

17 *Cf. Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 18-19; also Padmanabha Menon—*History of Kerala*, p. 207.

important commerce of the Dutch in these places is in pepper and cardamum. There is a river which flows along the walls on the north of the town, in which we were told there is about ten or twelve feet of water on the bar. The situation of this place is beautiful, the air good, but the water very injurious causing ruptures, and swelling the legs of those who remain there some years. It is one of the best places on this coast where one could rest oneself. All the commodities are found in abundance but we have to pay dearly for what is taken by land. When I entered the place for the first time, twelve or fifteen soldiers, Germans, Frenchmen and Walloons came to meet me, and asked me loudly and without restraint if we had come there to save them from the slavery in which they were, and added that the greater part of the garrison would help us. I repulsed these men and represented to them that they were playing at courting imprisonment. However I had some trouble in getting rid of them. The Dutch who then needed the people of the soil who were mostly Christians and Catholics to work on the fortifications that they were building, permitted the public exercise of their religion in a church that they had in the place, and a father Cordelier was the pastor ; since then the place has been put in the state in which it is at present. They have restrained this liberty inside the town ".

With this may also be compared the following from Baldaeus, which states in general terms the dispositions made by the Dutch after their conquest of Cochin and attested in detail by the documents reviewed above : " Being thus become entirely masters of Cochin, after it had been one hundred and fifty years in the possession of the Portuguese, the Dutch general made it his chiefest care to issue his orders not to molest the Portuguese, but to observe punctually the articles of the capitulation. The next was to demolish a certain part of the houses and churches of the city, in order to draw it into a more narrow compass, and to render the fortifications the more regular, the former requiring too great a number of men to defend them. The king of Cochin being crowned, and divers of the neighbouring petty princes obliged to become his tributaries, several strict alliances were made with the neighbouring kings to the south of the river of Cochin[18] ".

The Film Process for Copying Documents—Its usefulness for copying old historical manuscripts.*

[By M. C. Trivedi, B.A. (Hons.), B.Sc., Supervisor, Government Photo Registry Office, and Photographic Expert to Government, Poona.]

The following notes are put together with a view to acquaint the public—especially the owners and scholars of ancient manuscripts—with the Film Photo-Process for copy manuscripts and documents. It is hoped the public will see that it supplies a long felt need of reproducing cheaply and in facsimile manuscripts old and new.

2. The process is, for the last twelve years, efficiently doing the work of reproducing Registered Documents in the Registration Department of the Province of Bombay, for which it was originally devised and started. After the staff was sufficiently trained to cope with the registration work, activities of the process were extended to other fields ; the foremost among these is the reproduction of ancient manuscripts.

3. India has been, for ages past, a home of learning. It is well known that relics of ancient lore lie scattered here and there all over India, in the

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18 Churchill's voyages iii, p. 571.

*This paper was not read (*vide* item VIII of the Proceedings of the Members' meeting on pp. 192-193.

possession of private individuals or institutions. At the time these relics came into existence, there were no letter presses or hand presses and consequently all of them were written by hand on paper, that has fortunately proved lasting. Most of these manuscripts are written in rather obsolete languages like Prakrita or Magadhi.

4. To a student of antiquity and historical research, these old manuscripts reveal a mass of information, the value of which he only knows. Unfortunately for him they lie scattered and it is a great handicap to him to collect them together, as the owners or institutions are naturally unwilling to part with the only remnant in their possession, for any length of time. Nor is it convenient for the research worker to study them all together ; the very nature of his study is slow, being mostly relative and critical.

5. What is then the procedure that these research workers have to adopt for their studies ? It is usually this :—They are constantly on the look out for the particular manuscripts and as soon as they get them they copy them down by hand or engage a scribe to do so. In both cases, the task is tedious, long and arduous ; at the same time, they cannot help committing some mistakes in transcribing, as it is almost impossible to avoid them wholly, however careful one might try to be. The manuscript is returned after transcribing, another is obtained and the same task is repeated with all.

6. Looking to the immense trouble above mentioned in the way of transcribing by hand, the ease and rapidity which the camera brings to the aid of this difficult task is wonderful. It is not uncommon to hear of ardent students of antiquity in Europe going about with a small well-equipped camera for occasional use to reproduce rare old relics. But this is so far done on a small scale, *i.e.*, where a dozen or two sheets are to be copied ; the cost by the ordinary processes of photography is so prohibitive that none but an ardent lover of antique lore supported by well-to-do patrons can afford to go in for it.

7. In the new Film Process, rapidity of reproduction as well as cheapness in cost are wonderfully maintained. A print $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ is given for a trivial cost of a few annas ; whereas, if the same reproduction were made by any of the ordinary processes of photography, the cost will come to about a couple of rupees. It is possible to give prints of any size upto $15'' \times 12''$ and the one commonly liked for manuscripts is $12'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$ which costs annas eight only for the first copy and annas six for second and subsequent copies, and gives nearly same size copy for most of them.

8. As for the rapidity of reproduction it will suffice to cite one actual instance. A manuscript volume of 1000 sheets was once received for reproduction ; in addition to the usual Government work, it was photographed and printed in two days only. I request the readers to imagine this as a hand-copying job. What a disheartening thing it is ! None can say that it could have been copied by hand, by the smartest scribe, in two days, not to talk of the elimination of errors which are inevitable in hand copying.

9. There is one more important point that may be mentioned in connection with this apart from the advantages of rapid, faithful and cheap copying. It is this : that, if more copies are required in future, it is not necessary to produce the original manuscript again, as the negatives which are very small and take but little space can be conveniently preserved, from which copies can be supplied at any time.

10. Rare manuscripts or records which are not often required for reference may be photographed now only in the film form, *i.e.*, prints on paper may not be taken from their film negatives. In this case the whole cost of taking a print

is saved. The cost of making the negative only will be about two annas per side photographed.

11. To read the contents of the small negative, very efficient and cheap reading machines are now available in the market which enlarge the negative to the size of the original manuscript photographed.

12. This method is greatly to be commended for the use of libraries, record offices, historical societies and research institutions for their numerous copying needs. A very rare manuscript required by a scholar on loan need not necessarily leave the precincts of the institution ; its film copy taken at a very small cost can as well do. Rare and old manuscripts in the process of decay can be copied out in *facsimile* at a very small cost. Thus given a new lease of life they can start their earthly career again. The voluminous records of a library can be compressed into a small space, which in a record office is an ever worrying problem.

13. The use of safety base film and shortly now of aluminium base ensures Film Records to be thoroughly permanent—more, it is claimed, than papers of maximum purity.

14. By this process, we have so far reproduced hundreds of manuscript pages for professors, scholars, priests and research institutions. They all acclaim with one voice the great facility afforded to them by the Film Process. What they like above all is that manuscripts are returned within a couple of hours, which means a lot to scholars who can obtain for a short time only the loan of these manuscripts from their owners. The scholar is, therefore, in a position to collect much more material in a given time than could otherwise have been possible for him : also he gets them transcribed in *facsimile* for his later studies at a very little cost.

15. Any one interested in having his manuscripts copied would do well to try the process and be convinced of its merits. The manuscripts, together with instructions for their reproduction, may be sent to the Government Photo Registry Office, Poona, bearing on the outer cover the words "MANUSCRIPTS FOR REPRODUCTION." A schedule of charges accompanies.

Schedule of rates for different sizes of prints.

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7	13½″ × 8½″	0 10 0	0 8 0
8	16″ × 10″ or 20″ × 8″	1 0 0	0 12 0
9	20″ × 16″	2 0 0	1 8 0

The Resident at the Durbar (Moorshedabad)—His Position and Functions—(1765—1772).

(By Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A.)

The object of this paper(1) is to describe the position and functions of the East India Company's Resident at the Court of the Nawab of Bengal at Moorshedabad, as these were chiefly during the period from 1765 to 1772. This officer was always referred to in contemporary official documents of the Company as "the Resident at the Durbar". His office was one of the most important and onerous ones in the service of the Company in the early days of British Rule in Bengal. It was even regarded by some as "inferior only to that of the President" of Fort William(2). Both the Treaty of 10th July, 1763, with Meer Jaffier(3) and the Treaty which the Nawab Nudjum Ul Dowla(4) executed on 25th February, 1765, provided for the appointment of "an English gentleman" to reside with the Nawab, wherever the latter might be, for the transaction of all affairs between the Nawab and the Company. Even before 1763 a Resident would be appointed in the Nawab's Court. Thus Warren Hastings was once appointed Resident at the Durbar "in the room of Mr. Scrafton" in 1758(5); and referring to the arduous and varied nature of his duties one (6) of his biographers has said that he "collected, with infinite difficulty, a considerable portion of the outstanding balances that were due from Meer Jaffier to the Company; he put down, by the exercise of a sound discretion, more than one tumult in the city; he conducted many delicate negotiations both with the Nabob and his great officers of state, so as to call for the warm approbation of the Council, etc."(7). Indeed, the Resident was the "sole agent" of the Company for transacting all its business at the Durbar.

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(1) This paper is based mainly upon manuscript records, in most cases hitherto unpublished, in the Imperial Record Office of the Government of India.

(2) For instance, in a letter to the Governor and Council at Fort William, "dated Emeer Cawn's, the 6th December 1768," Colonel Rishard Smith said:

"The Residency at the Durbar, upon its present system, is most undoubtedly the post of so much importance on the Civil Establishment as to be inferior only to that of the President". See Home Department (Fort William) O. C. No. 7, 28th December, 1768.

We also find in paragraph 97 of the General Letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 2nd February, 1769, that the Council (at Fort William) had even appointed once a Deputy Resident at the Durbar with a view to relieving the Resident of a part of his heavy duties. The paragraph says:—

"As we were also of opinion that a Deputy Resident would be of essential service to your affairs and would greatly contribute to the Relief of the Resident in the duties of his laborious Employment—and as the Knowledge Mr. Robert Maddison has acquired of the Persian Language in which most of the Dewany accounts are kept & the manner of transacting Business with the Natives will afford him an opportunity of being more serviceable to you in this station than his present one we have appointed him to it".

(3) Meer Jafar.

(4) Najm-ud-Daula.

(5) See Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, 1841, Vol. I, pp. 54-55.

(6) The Rev. G. R. Gleig.

(7) See Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, p. 52.

And he had there, as Mr. Verelst(8) once said in 1768 in another connexion,(9) "an opportunity of discovering the Tempers, the Dispositions, and the particular characters not only of the Nabob and of his ministry, but even of every person of any note or consideration in this kingdom"; and would, because of his position, be "either engaged in, or......privy to all political Transactions" in the Nawab's Court. In view of the importance of his office, the Court of Directors had written(10) to the Governor and Council on 24th December, 1765, that if it was really necessary to have a Resident at the Durbar then they must "choose him, not by seniority in the service, but by an established Character for Integrity, Abilities and a knowledge of the Country Language"(11). And in a previous letter(12) the Court had written to the President and Council :—

"It is always necessary that a Civil Servant of Rank should reside on the Company's behalf at the Durbar, agreeable to the Treaty with the present Nabob. In this appointment the abilities and Qualifications of the Person should be chiefly regarded, and we suppose you had these in view in the choice of our present Resident Mr. Watts".(13)

The varied nature of the duties of the Resident would be evident from the following extracts from the instructions which the President and Council at Fort William issued to him on 29th May and 13th December, 1764. On 29th May, 1764, they wrote (14) to Mr. Batson who had been "appointed to attend constantly at the Nabob's Court":

"As the constant attention Major Carnac is at present obliged to pay to the motions of the Enemy and the operations of our own army may prevent him from obtaining and sending us the necessary information of what passes at the Nabob's Court, we have thought proper to appoint you resident at the

(8) Governor and President of Bengal from after the departure of Clive in January, 1767, till December, 1769. Mr. Verelst "resigned the government of Bengal, December 24th, 1769". See Verelst, *A View of the Rise, etc., of the English Government in Bengal*, App. p. 120, footnote.

(9) In connexion with the question whether the second member of the Council at Fort William should remain at the Presidency or be permitted to fill any vacancy that might occur elsewhere. See Home Department (Fort William) O. C. No. 9, dated 28th December, 1768.

(10) See the Court's General Letter to Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765.

(11) This is what the Court of Directors wrote in this connexion :—

"Whenever you think it really necessary to have a Resident at the Durbar, we direct you to choose him, not by seniority in the service, but by an establishment Character for Integrity, Abilities and a knowledge of the Country Language. We understand he is to be the sole agent for transacting all Business at the Durbar, and direct the Copy of his Correspondence with the Nabob or his officers, with the Presidency & chiefs of the Subordinates, officers of the Army or Civil Servants on public affairs be transmitted to us annually in Duplicate................as we leave the nomination of this officer to you, it behoves you to have a constant Eye to his Behaviour, as we shall deem you in particular manner responsible to us for his conduct".—See the Court's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765, para. 64. Also see the Court's letter to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated 21st November, 1766, para. 9.

(12) See the Court's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated 15th February, 1765, para. 69.

(13) It may be noted here that the Resident at the Durbar was appointed by the President and Council at Fort William. But sometimes, as in the case of the appointment of Mr. Francis Sykes as Resident at the Durbar, the Select Committee at Fort William would take the initiative in the matter and make recommendation therefor to the Council (at Fort William).—See the Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, of 5th October, 1765, and 4th January, 1769.

(14) See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 29th May, 1764.

Durbar. We direct therefore that you enter upon this office immediately on receipt hereof *transmitting to us daily advice of every thing that occurs*(15).

" By the enclosed copies of some Letters which have passed between the Nabob & Shuja Dowla, Beny Bahadre & others you'll perceive that Terms have been proposed for a negociation but we have yet heard nothing on this subject from the Major—We must desire you will inform yourself as far as you can discover, what may be the Nabob's motives and views in such a scheme, and what steps have been taken in it—For our own part we are resolved to enter into no Treaty with Shuja Dowla unless Meer Cossim, Sombre and our Deserters be first put into our hands as a preliminary. You will therefore acquaint the Nabob that this is Our Resolution assuring him we will accede to no Treaty he may make on any other Terms..

" We have only further to recommend to you *the greatest vigilance and attention* and to desire that you will be particularly careful in conducting yourself towards the Nabob, in order to preserve as great a confidence as possible between his and our Govts."

And in their letter to Mr. Samuel Middleton, dated at Fort William 13th December, 1764, the President and Council wrote(16) :—

" The Nabob having set out for Moorshedabad you will agreeably to your Appointment proceed thither & attend him as Resident at his Durbar—*In this Capacity you must in general keep us constantly advised of all such material transactions & occurrences, as may come to your knowledge, being for that Purpose extremely vigilant and attentive*(17), & make to the Nabob from time to time such representations from us as you may be instructed—The principal objects of your Attention at present are the following—

" The procuring regular payment of the five laaks per month granted by the Nabob towards defraying the expenses of the War with Shuja Dowla agreeably to the writing(18) passed by him the Nabob while he was here & you will find him of Course at Moorshedabad desirous of putting a speedy period to the continuance of this monthly payment ; He even thought the defeat of the Vizier at Buxar should have been this period ; He is well acquainted with our sentiments on this subject, & that we mean not to exact such assistance from him longer than the war subjects us to so heavy an Expence, & as soon as We can reduce this with Propriety & Prudence in Respect to the Safety of our Possession, We shall think it but just to relieve him also, agreeably to the Tenor of his Grant. In the meantime, & till you have other Directions from us, you will continue to press these Payments in the strongest Terms, causing the Amount of the Tuncaw on the naib at Moorshedabad to pass as hitherto through the Hands of the Gentlemen at Cossimbazar who will account with us for the same. The second point which you have now to attend to, is the Nabob's com-

(15) The italics are ours.

(16) See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 13th December, 1764 ; also Secret Letter to Court, dated the Fort William, 6th February, 1765.

(17) The italics are ours.

(18) Reference here is to the Nawab Meer Jaffier's " Note for Five Lakhs of Rupees per month for the expenses of the Army ", dated 16th September, 1764. According to this Note, the Nawab agreed to pay to the Company five lakhs of rupees every month " for expenses of the Europeans and Sepoys, the Artillery, and raising of the Cavalry ", " from the beginning of the month Sophar (31st July 1764) of the 5th year of the reign till the removal of the troubles with the Vizier ". See Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, etc.*, 4th Edition, 1909.

pliance with the Terms of the Kistbundee[19] which he has executed for payment of the money for the Restitution Fund................................

" You will moreover endeavour as soon as possible to procure and transmit us an exact state of the Nabob's Revenues & of the Expenses of his Government, also an Account of the number of Troops he keeps up. And you will make it your particular study, to promote in every respect a good Harmony & understanding between us & him.

" We have further to mention to you that we have Reason to think that some persons about the Nabob are endeavouring to prejudice in his opinion Mahomed Reza Cawn the present Naib of Dacca ; As this man came into the assistance of ours & the Nabob's Affairs at a critical Juncture, the commencement of the war with Cossim Aly Cawn, & chiefly by our sollicitation, tho' with the Nabob's also who in Consequence appointed him to the said naibut, & as he has always shewn himself attached to our Interest, it is becoming & reputable to us to afford him all possible support and countenance. We accordingly in our visit to take Leave of the Nabob recommended him particularly to his Favour, & as he is now at Moorshedabad for the Adjustment of his Accounts, You will if necessary remind His Excellency of this our Interposition in his Behalf, confirming it in the strongest terms, & further immediately represent to him how absolutely necessary it is to dispatch him to Dacca for the collection of the Revenues in that part.

" You are to regulate your own by the motions of the Nabob, as you are to attend his Durbar wheresoever he may remove to :—We could wish however he may remain for some time at least at Moorshedabad to settle the Collections and Accounts of the several provinces, which as you see occasion you will accordingly represent to him the necessity of.

" We have advised the Gentlemen of the Cossimbazar Factory of your Appointment & directed them on all occasions to make their applications

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(19) Reference here is to " the Kistbundee executed by the Nabob (Meer Jaffier) agreeably to the " Company's " Desire for the payment of the Restitution for the Merchants Losses " during its troubles with Meer Cossim. We find in the Proceedings of a meeting of the Council (at Fort William) in its Secret Department, held at Fort William on Thursday, 6th December, 1764, the following translation of the Nawab's " note for the payment of 48 Laaks of Rupees Restitution money " :—

" Regulation of the payments of the money plundered by Meer Cossim from the English merchants, etc., in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar which shall be made from the beginning of the month of Cartic in the Bengal year 1171 to the end of the Bengal year 1172 according to the particulars following :—

In the Bengal year (1171)	2,80,00,00
To the end of Augun	2,00,00,00
In the month of Maug	50,00,00
In the month of Faugun	30,00,00
In the Bengal year 1172	2,00,00,00
In the month of Sawun (middle of July to the middle of August)	50,00,00
In the month of Ausin	70,00,00
In the month of Poos	80,00,00
Total ..	4,80,00,00 "

See Proceedings, Council, Fort William, Secret Department, of 21st November and 6th December, 1764 ; also the Nawab Meer Jaffier's Treaty (article 10) with the Company, dated 10th July, 1763.

through you to the Nabob & to make you also the necessary Advances for your Expences ".

On the acquisition by the Company of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, on 12th August, 1765, the importance of the office of Resident at the Durbar greatly increased with the increase in its duties and responsibilities consequent thereupon. As a result of this acquisition, its treaty(20) with the Nawab of Bengal (Najm-ud-Daula), and its agreement(21) with the latter under which he consented " to accept of the annual sum of secca Rupees 53,86,131-9-0, as an adequate allowance for the support of the Nizamut ", the Company became, to quote the words of the Select Committee at Fort William, " both the Collectors & Proprietors(22) " of the revenues derived from the Diwani lands, and virtually " the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom(23) ". Further, we find in a letter to Mr. Francis Sykes, Resident at the Durbar, dated at Fort William 12th January 1768, the Select Committee writing to him that it concurred with him in opinion that the Company as Diwan had " an undoubted right " to exert its authority in all matters relating to the collection of revenues.

Now the functions of the office of Diwan were, since the Company had come into possession of it, exercised(24) by its Resident at the Durbar who acted as the " Collector of the King's Revenue under the inspection and control of the Select Committee " at Fort William. In conjunction with Mahomed Reza Cawn he, said(25) the Select Committee, " superintends the whole collections receives the monthly payments from the Zemindars disburses the stated revenues appropriated to the King and the Nabob inquires into the causes of deficiencies ; redresses Injuries sustained or committed by the officers of the Revenue and transmits the accounts of his office, the invoices of treasure, and a monthly account of the Treasury with every other occurrence of Importance to

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(20) Executed by the President and Council of Fort William on 20th February, 1765, and by the Nawab of Bengal on 25th February, 1765. *Vide* Proceedings, Council, Fort William, Secret Department, dated 20th and 28th February, 1765.

(21) See the Proceedings of the Select Committee, Fort William, of 7th September, 1765 ; also Home Department (Public) O. C. No. 3, 9th September, 1765. The relevant O. C. does not contain any date of the Agreement referred to in the text above. As I have shown elsewhere (*Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I, 1765-72, pp. 5—7, footnote), the Agreement in question must have been executed on a date in between 24th August, 1765, when Clive was on ' the Ganges near Benares ' on his way back from Allahabad and 7th September, 1765, when, on his return to Calcutta, he laid before the Select Committee " an account of his several negociations with the Country Powers during his absence from the Presidency ".

(22) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, dated 5th October, 1765 ; also see the Supplement, dated at Fort William, 1st October, 1765, to the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 30th September, 1765.

(23) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 30th September, 1765, para. 29.

(24) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 24th January, 1767, para. 5.

(25) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 24th January, 1767, para. 5.

Also :—" When first we received from His Majesty the grant of the Dewanny and entered upon the collection of the Royal Revenue, we committed this important charge to the management of Muhamed Reza Cawn, under the immediate inspection of the Resident at the Durbar ".—*Ibid*, para. 15.

the President and Select Committee[26] ". In view of these duties entrusted to him, the Resident at the Durbar was also designated " Collector of the Dewanny " ; and he was required to transmit to the " Select Committee all accounts relative to the Revenues[27]."

We may also note in this connexion the views which the Court of Directors held in regard to the position and functions of the Resident at the Durbar after the Royal grant of the Diwani to the Company. In its letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, the Court observed that being constantly on the spot, he (*i.e.*, the Resident) could not long be " a Stranger to any Abuses in the Government ", and was always " armed with Power to remedy them ". It would be " his Duty to stand between the Administration and the Encroachments always to be apprehended from the Agents of the Company's servants, which must first be known to him ". He was to check all such encroachments and to prevent the oppression of the people of this country. It then referred to its " Sentiments on the office of Resident " as expressed by it in its letter of 24th December, 1765[28], and said that these " Sentiments " it had held in regard to this office as it had then stood. But now that it had become, presumably in view of the Royal grant of the Diwani[29], " of so much more Importance ", it should, it felt[30], " leave the regularity of it " to the Select Committee ; and it desired the Committee to " be very explicit on the subject ". It directed, however, that all the correspondence of the Resident with the Committee should be carried on " through the Channel of the President " ; that he must " keep a Diary[31] of all his Transactions " ; that his " Correspondence with the

(26) For instance, when Mr. Richard Becher was appointed Resident at the Durbar in place of Mr. Francis Sykes who had been " reduced to the necessity of requesting permission from the President and Council to proceed to Europe " on account of the declining state of his health, the Select Committee at Fort William wrote to him the following letter :—

" To Richard Becher, Esq.,

Resident at the Durbar.

Sir,

The President and Council having nominated you to the station of Resident at the Durbar you will be pleased to proceed to the City with all convenient expedition.

You are *to correspond with the Select Committee on the subject of the collections committed to your charge, as well as of all other matters relative to the Country Govt.*

As the several orders transmitted to your predecessor will be delivered over to you for your guidance we have only at present to add our best wishes for your success.

Fort William,

4th Jany 1769. We are, etc."

See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 4th January, 1769. The italics are ours.

(27) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 11th February, 1767.

(28) Obviously, reference here is to paragraph 64 of the Court's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 24th December, 1765. The paragraph has been quoted in footnote 11 on page 70 *ante*.

(29) As Mr. Verelst (President and Governor) once said, " the whole amount of the Dewanny revenues " was now " under his (*i.e.*, the Resident's) immediate Inspection ".

See Home Dept. (Fort William) O. C. No. 9, dated 28th December, 1768.

(30) See the Court's letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 16.

(31) In regard to this, the Select Committee wrote to the Court in its reply dated at Fort William, 24th January, 1767 :—

" The diary you recommend would certainly conduce much to the regularity and method of office, but as we are afraid of distracting his attention by presenting too great a variety of different objects to the mind we must at present leave the particular mode of carrying on business to the Resident's own discretion ".—See the Select Committee's letter to the Court, dated at Fort William, 24th January, 1767.

Natives must be publicly conducted"; and that copies of all his letters sent and received, should "be transmitted Monthly to the Presidency, with Duplicates and Triplicates, to be transmitted Home in our General Packet by every ship(32)."

It should also be mentioned here that the collection of revenues in the province of Bihar was placed "under the immediate direction of the Chief(33) at Patna". He acted jointly, first, with Raja Deerijnarayan(34) for a year and a half and then with Raja Shitab Roy, and was subordinate to the Resident at the Durbar, to whom he used to make "consignments of Treasure", and to transmit monthly accounts of his office. The Resident was required to send those accounts to the Select Committee at Fort William(35).

Further, when in 1769 Supravisors (or Supervisors) were appointed "on behalf of the Company in each particular province with a view to investigate and ascertain in a minute clear and comprehensive manner a variety of circumstances which intimately concern the welfare of the country (*i.e.*, the Diwani portion of Bengal)(36)", and for "superintending the native officers employed in collecting the revenue or administering justice" there, the Select Committee at Fort William wrote to Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at the Durbar, on 10th December, 1769, explaining the nature of the authority with which it meant to invest the latter in relation to the Supravisors(37). Among other things, the Committee stated in its letter to Mr. Becher :—

"It is our Intention that the Supravisors shall act immediately under the Resident at the Durbar ; and in case of any Misconduct on their parts that he shall have the power of recalling them from their Stations, making immediate

(32) The reply of the Select Committee at Fort William was :

"His (*i.e.*, the Resident's) correspondence however with the natives, & copies of all letters he may send or receive in his public station, we shall direct him to forward to us, with duplicates and triplicates to be transmitted (home) in our General Packet".—See the *ibid.*

Thus the Court would be kept informed of the activities of the Resident at the Durbar.

(33) *I.e.*, the Company's Chief Representative there.

(34) This fact is not generally known. We have discovered it in a minute which Warren Hastings (President and Governor) delivered before a meeting of the Council in its Secret Department, held at Fort William on 19th November, 1772. He stated in the course of this minute :

"I learn that when the Company first became possessed of the Dewaunee Rajah Deerijnarain was constituted Naib Dewan of the Province of Bahar, and held that post for a year and a half that is during the year 1172 and half (of) 1173—that he was then dismissed for supposed neglect or mismanagement in suffering a Balance to accumulate in the rents of 6½ Laacks of Rupees.........

"On the dismission of Rajah Deerijnarain Raja Shitabroy was appointed to the charge of his office of Naib Dewan and had the management of the collections till the End of the year 1177 when it devolved to the care of the Board (Council) of Revenue which was then formed".

See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 19th November, 1772.

(35) See the letter of the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 24th January, 1767.

(36) See the "Form of Instructions to be issued by the Resident at the Durbar to the several supravisors", in the Proceedings of the meeting of the Select Committee (at Fort William) held at Fort William on 16th August, 1769. For a detailed discussion of the position and functions of the Supravisors, see the author's *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I, Chapters II and III.

(37) See the Select Committee's letter to Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at the Durbar, dated at Fort William, 10th December, 1769.—*Vide* the Proceedings of the Select Committee (Fort William) of 10th December, 1769 ; also the India Office copy of the same in the Imperial Record Office, New Delhi.

Report of such his Proceedings to us, or to the Select Committee for the time being in order to have our final Determination ". " But this Power in the Resident ", the Committee added, " is not meant to extend towards the Supravisor of Dacca, whilst a Member of the Board whose appointment being more immediately by us, we will reserve to ourselves the Judgement of his conduct(38) : but the Resident at the Durbar, and such Supravisor of Dacca are mutually to correspond with each other ; and his accounts and Information are to be sent to the Resident in order to preserve the Form of Government by their being laid regularly before the Ministers for their Sanction and Opinions ".

Moreover, the Resident at the Durbar had been for some time the Chief of the Company's Factory at Cossimbazar. As it had been found, however, that the duties of the two offices were too heavy for one person to discharge satisfactorily, the Court of Directors wrote to the President and Council at Fort William on 20th November, 1767(39) :

" Being convinced that the Employs of Resident at the Durbar and Chief of Cossimbazar cannot from the Importance and Extent of the Business of each Department be properly executed by one Person, we therefore direct that they be from this time forward separated, and that some other member of the Council be appointed to the said Chiefship, We do not make this Regulation from any failure of attention on the part of Mr. Sykes, with whose conduct we are perfectly satisfied ".

And in a previous letter(40) the Court had written to the President and Select Committee at Fort William on 21st November, 1766 :

" We observe that Mr. Sykes (Resident at the Durbar) has also charged the Factory at Cossimbazar. We apprehend the attention to so large an investment as is made at that Factory will take him off from the more important objects of his office of Resident at the Durbar ; if you find Our Conjecture well grounded we recommend it to you, to appoint one of the other members of the Council to that Chiefship that the Resident at the Durbar might apply himself solely to the Superintendency of the Revenues ".

The Council at Fort William took action as directed by the Court. And in its General Letter(41) to the Court, dated at Fort William, 13th September, 1768, it stated :—

" In consequence of your orders that the Chief of Cossimbazar & the Resident at the Durbar should no longer be held by one person we appointed Mr. Wm. Aldersey to the Former and that Genlln. (Gentleman ?) having requested our opinion upon some points, we thought it necessary to draw a Line between the authority of each & accordingly decided

" That all persons employed in the provision of the Investment(42) & the management of that Branch should be under the authority and direction of the Chief of Cossimbazar—

" That all applications to the Nabob should be through the channel of the Resident at the Durbar

(38) See in this connection the author's *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*, Vol. I, 1765-72, pp. 77-78, footnote, for further details in regard to this matter.

(39) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 20th November, 1767, para. 110.

(40) See the Court's letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William in Bengal, dated 21st November, 1766, para. 9.

(41) Para. 118.

(42) This term signified " the goods purchased for the European markets ".

"That the Chief of Cossimbazar & the Resident at the Durbar should each of them have additional Power to grant Dusticks(43) in their respective Departments".

As we shall shortly see, the duties of the Resident at the Durbar and those of the Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar were again entrusted to the same person in 1772. This happened in the following circumstances.

As we have shown in detail elsewhere(44), on July 6th, 1770, the Governor and Council at Fort William instituted, in pursuance of the instructions of the Court of Directors conveyed by its General Letter of 30th June, 1769, by the *Lapwing,* two Controlling Councils of Revenue—one at Moorshedabad and another at Patna With the institution of the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad the office of Resident at the Durbar was abolished, and Mr. Richard Becher, who had previously been appointed Resident at the Durbar, was now appointed Chief or President of the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad, with Messrs. Reed, Lawrell and Graham as his colleagues. And the Council at Fort William issued(45) the following Instructions, among others, to the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad :—

"You are to have the control of all the business of the Dewannee Revenue But Mahomed Reza Cawn must be Naib Duan and all the business must be carried on through the Naib & under his seal and signing.

"The Authority with which we heretofore vested the Resident at the Durbar............will no longer remain with him. It is to be exerted by you our Council and all transactions with the Country Government which were carried on through the Channel of the Resident at the Durbar............will now be conducted by you.

"And whatever the majority of the Council determine upon is to pass into an Act—but on a division of voices the Chief is to have the Casting Vote(46)".

And when on the recommendation(47) of what is known as the Committee of Circuit(48), the Council at Fort William, decided in August 1772, to remove the 'Khalsa(49) with all the offices appertaining thereto', from Moorshedabad to Calcutta and place it under its immediate control at the Presidency, it ordered, as will be evident from the following letter, the dissolution of the

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(43) Dustruck or Dustick : A passport or permit or order. It usually meant the passport issued by the Governor of Fort William or the Chiefs of English factories, for the goods of the Company or of their servants, which exempted them from the payment of duties.

(44) See the author's "*Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*", Vol. I, 1765-72, Chapter IV.

(45) See *ibid,* pp. 104—110, for further details.

(46) These as well as other Instructions which the Council at Fort William issued to the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad had been approved of by the former at its Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 16th August, 1770. They were actually sent to the latter on 11th September, 1770.—See the *ibid,* pp. 104—110, for further details.

(47) See the *ibid,* pp. 114—116, for further details.

(48) Constituted by the Controlling Committee of Revenue at its meeting held at Fort William on 14th May, 1772. For details, see the *ibid,* pp. 158-59 and also pp. 176-77.

(49) Khalsa : The exchequer ; 'the office of Government under the Muhammedan administration in which the business of the Revenue Department was transacted, and which was continued during the early period of British rule'.

Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad(50) :

" To

Saml Middleton, Esqre

Chief & Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad

Gentlemen

Having judged it expedient to remove the Khalsa, etc., Offices of the Dewaunee from Moorshedabad to Calcutta in consequence of the Command of the Honble Company and the inutility of continuing the Revenue Establishment at Muzadabad without any charge being duly considered We this Day came to the Resolution of Recalling the Gentlemen of your Board to the Presidency and of Dissolving the appointment we made for managing the Business of the Collections at the City. On receipt of this You will therefore consider Yourselves no longer a Board of Revenue but finally Close your proceedings collect together your Records and convey them in the safest manner to us.

We are, etc.,
Wm. Aldersey,
Thos. Lane.
Richd. Barwell.
(James) Harris.
Hy. Goodwin ".

Fort William,
17th August 1772.

We may add that after the decision had been taken by the Council at Fort William to dissolve the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad and to remove from there the Khalsa, etc., to Calcutta, the Committee of Circuit proposed(51) that, as Moorshedabad would still continue " to be the Seat of the Residence of the Nabob ", a person should remain there " in Quality of Resident of (at ?) the Durbar ". His duties would be to superintend the transactions of the Nawab's Court, " to keep an Eye over the conduct of his Guardian(52) & his Duan(53) in the care of his Education & management of his Household to furnish the Advances of his stipend according to the orders of the President & Council to receive and transmit the Accounts of its Application agreeably to the orders of the Court of Directors and to attend to the good Government of the City ". The Committee also suggested that, as the situation of the Resident would enable him to conduct with regularity and success the collection of the Western Division of Rajshahi, it should be put under his superintendence. The Committee further proposed that the Resident at the Durbar should be appointed Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar. Finally, " all these being objects of very great Trust ", the Committee was of opinion that " they ought to be, and that the Court of Directors will approve of their being, confided to a member of the Council ". It, therefore, recommended that Mr. Samuel Middleton should be appointed " Resident of (at ?) the Durbar, Collector of Rajeshahy and Chief of Cossimbazar ". All these recommendations of the Committee of Circuit were duly accepted by the Council at Fort William(54). Thus the office of Resident at the Durbar was reinstituted in

(50) See Secret Consultation, Fort William, 17th August, 1772 ; also the General Letter (Revenue Department) to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 3rd November, 1772.

(51) *Vide* Secret Consultation, Fort William, 29th August, 1772 ; also the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, Cossimbazar, dated 20th August, 1772.

(52) Munnee Begum, widow of the late Nawab Meer Jaffier.

(53) Raja Goordass, son of Maharaja Nund Comar.

(54) Secret Consultation, Fort William, 29th August, 1772 ; also the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, Cossimbazar, dated 20th August, 1772.

1772, although its duties now were to be somewhat different from what they had been before.

The failure of Anglo-Maratha negotiations regarding the Cession of Cuttack.

(By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D.)

Ever since the menace[1] of a Maratha invasion into Bengal in the time of Mir Qasim[2], the authorities at Calcutta had been desirous of occupying Cuttack for the purpose of strengthening the frontier on that side. When Clive became Governor of Bengal for the second time, he sought[3] to obtain Cuttack by peaceful negotiations with Januji Bhonsla, and sent[4] a vakil to Nagpur for this purpose.

After Clive's departure from India, Udepuri Gusain came to Bengal as Januji's agent to negotiate the question of the Bengal chauth, and the cession of Cuttack[5]. Verelst offered to pay 13 lakhs in lieu of the chauth, if Cuttack was ceded[6]. But Januji assumed a stern attitude[7], and sent threatening letters demanding the chauth. Udepuri represented that his master could not cede Cuttack on any other terms than the annual payment of 16 lakhs to be accounted from the Company's assumption of the Diwani[8].

At their meeting of February 10, 1768, the Select Committee finally approved of the terms of a treaty with Januji, but the latter once again threatened to invade Bengal[9], if the payment of the chauth was made conditional on his cession of Cuttack. Verelst took no notice of the threats and sent the proposed treaty to Januji through Gopalpuri Gusain[10].

After waiting for several months, Verelst heard from Januji towards the middle of October[11] that he had no objection to the proposed agreement, if it were modified in a manner acceptable[12] to him. This sudden change in Januji's attitude appears to have been due to the embassy of Gopalpuri Gusain, who tried his utmost to bring a rapprochement between his master and the English. Januji told the Vakil, "I am always desirous of friendship and union, but as this treaty has been on foot for eight years, I have sustained great loss. I placed entire confidence in the letters the English sent me during the war with Mir Qasim Ali Khan, assuring me that the sums would be delivered on condition that I would not give that Nawab any assistance. Those assurances were repeated by Mir Zainul Abidin Khan who was sent by Lord Clive during his administration with presents and letters from his Lordship. His Lordship declared that he had no interested views for this purpose, but nothing has appeared since but craft and guile. If this had not been the case, by our wise counsel and unanimity, our names would have been celebrated throughout

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1 Abs. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 45.
2 Beng. Pub. Cons. May 8, 1761, & Trans. P. L. I. 1761, No. 404.
3 Beng. Sel. Com. Jan. 9, 1766.
4 Trans. R. 1767-68, Nos. 49-50.
5 Beng. Sel. Com. Feb. 23, 1767.
6 Beng. Sel. Com., July, 6, 1767, and July 14, 1767.
7 Letter to Court, Sept. 26, 1767. Beng. Sel. Com. Sept. 30, 1767.
8 Beng. Sel. Com. Feb. 10, 1768.
9 Trans. R. 1768, No. 208.
10 Trans. R. 1768, Nos. 221 & 296.
11 Trans. R. 1768, Nos. 285—287.
12 Trans. R. 1768, No. 287.

Hindustan as well as in the Deccan, and the valour of the English nation would have been familiar to every ear in the known world. Now that the English sardars are desirous of friendship and union, I am perfectly agreeable to this ; but the present treaty requires many stipulations in order that no future obstacles may arise and that it may be observed by our posterity[13].

The "memorial of demands" sent by Januji was soon obtained from Udepuri Gusain, and was later considered by the Select Committee at their meeting of November 29. It is interesting to note that Januji was reluctant to rely on a treaty signed by the Nawab of Bengal, or by the English Governor, and that he demanded one signed and sealed by the King of England. The reason for this demand was thus stated by Sambhaji Ganesh : "The gentlemen (*i.e.*, the Governors) are appointed for three years or 1,000 days ; in case a negotiation is carried on with them on account of some being displaced and others succeeding them, it will not appear what sort of an alliance subsists between the English and the Marathas[14]".

The principal demands[15] of Januji were as follows :—

1. The temple of Jagannath at Puri shall continue to remain in his possession.
2. The duties and taxes paid by the pilgrims shall be collected by his own officials.
3. The English shall promise to help him with money and arms, if he required it. He on his part was willing to promise similar assistance to the English in their hour of need.
4. In addition to the stipulated amount of sixteen lakhs of rupees, the customary presents of elephants, fine cloths, jewels, etc., shall also be given to him.
5. An extra lakh of rupees shall be paid for the mutasaddis of the collections and for the army.
6. The promised amount shall be paid in two instalments in Murshidabad siccas.
7. The payment shall be accounted for from the 1st of October 1765.
8. In addition to a duly authenticated treaty to be procured from Europe, a similar treaty shall be executed by Mr. Verelst, and witnessed by Saifuddaulah, Muhammad Riza Khan, and others.
9. A similar treaty shall be executed by Saifuddaulah.
10. The chaukis on the borders of Orissa shall not be interfered with.
11. The guns lying at Sambalpur shall be transported to Chatter Ghir.
12. The treaty after being duly signed shall be sent to him through Udepuri Gusain.
13. The amount already agreed upon shall be increased at least by two lakhs.
14. At least two years' dues shall be paid in advance.

As most of the aforesaid terms appeared to be "too extravagant"[16] to the Governor and the Select Committee, they proposed the following modifications

13 Trans. R. 1768, No. 288.
14 Trans. R. 1768, No. 296.
15 Beng. Sel. Com. Novr. 29, 1768.
16 Letter to Court, Jan. 6, 1769.

and resolved[17] in their meeting of December 13 to communicate these to Januji for his opinion :—

1. Januji's agent would be allowed to look after the due performance of religious ceremonies in the temple of Jagannath at Puri, but he would remain liable to be punished for misbehaviour.
2. The customs duties and other taxes paid by the pilgrims would be collected by an agent of the Nawab.
3. Mutual assistance would be given, only when it was convenient.
4. The additional presents asked for would be given, if similar presentation was made to the Nawab.
5. No extra payment would be made beyond the promised amount of sixteen lakhs of rupees.
6. There was no objection to the sixth demand.
7. As it had been formerly agreed upon that the revenues of Cuttack collected from the 1st of October 1765 were to be brought to the Nawab's credit, Januji would allow a strict scrutiny to be made into the accounts of the revenue collections.
8. There was no objection to the eighth demand.
9. There was no objection to the ninth demand.
10. There was no objection to the tenth demand.
11. The eleventh demand was not considered by the Committee to be seriously insisted upon by Januji.
12. A Company's servant would accompany Udepuri Gusain to Nagpur with the treaty.
13. Not more than sixteen lakhs of rupees would be paid to Januji.
14. Two years' dues would be paid in advance, if it could be possibly done.

From the minutes of the Select Committee it is apparent that the authorities at Calcutta were anxious at this time to conclude a treaty with Januji from purely political considerations. The war with Haidar Ali was still going on in the South, and the President and Council of Fort St. George pressed for assistance, stating that there was little prospect of gaining any advantage over the enemy[18]. They gave the alarming news that Haidar Ali was trying to enlist the support of the Peshwa Madhav Rao who was said to be determined[19] to quarrel with the English, and who was likely to enter into an alliance with Haidar Ali against the English[20]. The likelihood of a junction [21] between Madhav Rao and Haidar Ali increased the anxiety of the authorities at Calcutta. They therefore regarded[22] an immediate agreement with Januji as the best means of preventing Madhav Rao from marching to the South in aid of Haidar[23] Ali. The Governor and the Select Committee thus subsequently explained their

17 Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 13, 1768.

18 Letter from President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, Nov. 11, 1768.

19 Letter from Mr. C. Broome, Resident at the Court of the Peshwa, Nov. 6, 1768.

20 Letter from Mr. C. Broome, Resident at the Court of the Peshwa, Nov. 14, 1768.

21 Letter from President and Council of Bombay, Nov. 9, 1768.

22 Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 13, 1768.

23 Letter to Court, April 6, 1769.

object to the Directors, " Our principal object of bringing about a treaty with him (Januji) was to divert Madho Rao from entering the Carnatic to the assistance of Hyder Ally ". It is needless to point out that the view taken by the Calcutta Government was in the main correct, for in any war with the Peshwa the alliance of Januji, whose jealousy[24] of the latter's power was well known, was bound to be of the greatest benefit to the English[25]. Besides, even if the threatened war with the Peshwa did not immediately come about, Januji's alliance was necessary[26] so long as the war was in progress in the Deccan. An understanding with the latter would not only cause the desired " diversion of the Maratha power[27] " and lead[28] to the " repose and security " of Bengal, but would also enable the authorities to render the most effectual and expeditious support to Madras through Cuttack[29].

The protracted negotiations now seemed to be nearing a satisfactory conclusion, and the Directors also expressed their wholehearted approval of the policy of the Calcutta Government in the following words, " We think it both equity and sound policy to pay them their chauth, and shall much approve it, if it can be done on the terms you mention, of their ceding to us their possessions in Orissa, which would join our Bengal possessions to the Circars, and would afford us the means of preventing any hostile attempts of an European enemy who might land in that part of Orissa[30] ".

Contrary to all expectations, however, Januji sent ordinary letters and formal messages through his vakil without indicating any desire to ratify the proposed treaty[31]. Eventually the negotiations were completely terminated[32], for in the early months of 1769 Januji remained preoccupied with his plans against Madav Rao, and during the summer there was an open rupture between them. In March it was first definitely reported that Madhav Rao was bent[33] on crushing the power of Januji, consequently the Select Committee thought it prudent to suspend the negotiation with the latter for the present[34]. Verelst wrote to Col. Smith on March 21, " The very critical situation of the Company's affairs on the Coast compels us to suspend our negotiation with Januji[35] ". The Governor was apparently not prepared to be needlessly embroiled in a quarrel with the Peshwa on behalf of an uncertain ally ; and he decided not to form an alliance with Januji, until Madhav Rao actually threatened to attack the Carnatic[36]. He thought it " highly impolitic at this juncture to continue the negotiations " with Januji, for, as he wrote to the Directors, " his fate must actually be decided even before we could help him against the Peshwa[37] ". The

24 Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 13, 1768.
" His well-known jealousy of ....Mahadaverow......must secure him in our interests."

25 Letter to President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, Dec. 17, 1768. Letter to President and Council of Bombay, Dec. 17, 1768.

26 Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 23, 1768.

27 Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 13, 1768.

28 *Ibid.*

29 Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 17, 1768.

30 Letter from Court, March 16, 1768.

31 Cop. I, 1770, No. 30.

32 Nothing was heard from the Maratha side except occasional demands for money. (Trans. R. 1769, No. 12).

33 Letter to President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, March 21, 1769.

34 Beng. Sel. Com. March 21, 1769.

35 Letter to Col. R. Smith, March 21, 1769.

36 Letter to President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, March 21, 1769.

37 Letter to Court, April 6, 1769.

Madras authorities also deprecated[38] the idea of an alliance with Januji in the present state of affairs when war seemed to be imminent between the latter and the Peshwa.

Januji's relations with Madhav Rao had lately become so critical that he had to make repeated appeals[39] to Shah Alam for " a general union and confederacy " against the Peshwa. Januji represented that " instigated by his inveterate enmity and long subsisting jealousy ", Madhav Rao had " invaded the patrimonial territories of His Majesty's bounden servant and vassal "[40], and in contravention of " the most sacred engagements " had " circumvented him by wiles and stratagems and laid his possessions waste[41] ". The authorities at Calcutta, however, maintained a strictly neutral attitude, and afforded no help to Januji in his war with the Peshwa. In May, Sambhaji Ganesh strongly urged the Governor to assist his master " at this critical juncture ", and offered to send an agent to Calcutta to negotiate with him on this subject[42]. Verelst politely declined to promise any assistance on the plea that peace would soon be concluded between Januji and the Peshwa[43]. Early in June the report of Januji's success against the Peshwa was received from Col. Smith[44], and about a month later the President and Council of Fort St. George intimated that peace had been concluded between the two parties[45].

Hopes of a settlement regarding Cuttack revived after the establishment of peace between Madhav Rao and Januji, and Verelst once more made friendly overtures to Sambhaji Ganesh, and informed him of his desire " to send an English Vakil to prove the sincerity of his heart, to strengthen the bond of friendship existing between the Raja and the English, and to provide for the proper settlement of every business[46] ". Sambhaji Ganesh, however, gave no reply to the Governor's letter, evidently because his master had now decided not to cede Cuttack on any terms. Reminders[47] were sent to him in vain. Finally, when Udepuri Gusain[48] intimated his decision to go back[49] to Nagpur, the Governor despaired of reaching an agreement with the Maratha Chief. In his letter to the Vakil he still expressed the hope that[50] on reaching Nagpur the latter would endeavour to strengthen the foundations of the friendship between his master and the English. After sending a non-committal reply[51] beforehand, Sambhaji Ganesh at last plainly told the Governor that as peace had been established with Madhav Rao " through the valour and good conduct of his master ", there remained " no occasion for any new negotiations or deputies[52] ". Even the usual neighbourly relations seemed to be difficult to maintain, when presumably at the instance of his master, Sambhaji Ganesh refused to allow an

38 Letter from President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, March 20, 1769.
39 Papers of news received, March 7, 1769.
40 Beng. Sel. Com. March 21, 1769.
41 Letter from Januji to the King. (*Vide* Beng. Sel. Com. March 21, 1769).
42 Cop. R. 1769, No. 22.
43 Cop. I. 1769-70, No. 23.
44 Beng. Sel. Com. June 8, 1768.
45 Beng. Sel. Com. July 8, 1768.
46 Cop. I. 1769-70, No. 32.
47 Cop. I. 1769-70, No. 56.
48 Cop. R. 1769, No. 97.
49 From the Dastak granted by the Governor, it appears that Udepuri Gusain had a large retinue :—" Savars—50, Barquandazes—200, Camels—30, Mules—60, Oxen—50, Palkis—4, Chaupalas—35, Bahlis—4, Servants—400." (*Vide* Cop. I, 169-70, No. 94).
50 Cop. I. 1769-70, No. 74.
51 Cop. R. 1769, No. 82.
52 Trans. R. 1769, No. 161.

English force to pass through Cuttack on the plea that there was scarcity in his province, and that the English troops might plunder the country while passing through it.

In his farewell letter[53] to the Council written on the eve of his departure from India, Verelst thus expressed his disappointment at the failure of his long and wearisome negotiations with Januji : " I once flattered myself that the former (Januji) would have acceded to a treaty for the cession of Orissa, but his evasion and artful behaviour has convinced me that the Maharattas will never desert their old and characteristic manners. After three years of negotiation, much trouble and some expense, no progress has been made towards a conclusion ; on the contrary, he has studiously avoided any declaration of his sentiments ". It is amusing to find that Januji recriminated with equal bitterness against the dilatory, hesitating policy[54] of the English in the following[55] words : " Udepur Gusain has for the last five years been praising the English Sardars for their uprightness, but they have not as yet given a proof that they possess that quality ".

Embittered by disappointment, Verelst naturally ascribed the failure of the negotiations to " the artful character[56] " of the Marathas, but there are intelligible reasons why the proposed scheme for the cession of Cuttack ultimately fell through. In the first place, the refusal of the English to assist him against the Peshwa seems to have given the greatest offence to Januji, and it was chiefly in disgust and pique that he abruptly stopped all negotiations with them after coming to terms with the Peshwa. He bitterly complained afterwards that in his hour of need the English had failed " to comfort his heart by sending help ", and reminded the Governor in bitter sarcasm that " the touchstone of true friendship is misfortune and danger[57] ". In the second place, being badly in need of money, Januji was not prepared to part with Cuttack without receiving payment of three years' rent in advance[58]. As, however, the Select Committee could not readily accede to this term for obvious reasons, Januji who had entered into these negotiations entirely from pecuniary considerations saw no particular benefit in losing what he considered to be a valuable possession[59]. In the third place, Januji had entertained the proposal regarding the cession of Cuttack at a time when being in alliance with Raghunath Rao he had no danger to apprehend from Poona, but his war with Madhav Rao seems to have convinced him of the strategic importance of Orissa as a base for his reserve forces. This accounts for the fact that in his subsequent correspondence[60] with Cartier, Januji repeated his demand of the chauth " as settled and established by former Nazims ", but scrupulously avoided mentioning his former willingness to cede Cuttack in return. In the last place, Januji had throughout claimed the chauth of Bengal as a matter of right, and had always been reluctant to accept it as a price for his cession of Cuttack. The absolute unwillingness of the English to pay him the chauth, notwithstanding his repeated reminders for it, was another circumstance which partly accounts for Januji's obstinate refusal to give up Cuttack.

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53 Letters to Mr. John Carter and the Council at Fort William, Dec. 16, 1769.

54 Trans. R. and I. 1770, No. 23.

55 Trans. R. and I. 1770, No. 240.

56 Beng. Sel. Com. Dec. 15, 1769.

57 Trans. R. and I. 1770, No. 23.

58 Beng. Sel. Com. Nov. 29, 1761.

59 Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 450.

60 Trans. and I. 1770, Nos. 23, 240 ; Trans. R. 1771, No. 104.

Tutelage of Maharastra under Karnataka.

[By Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen).]

The object of this paper is to show how far Mahārāṣṭra was politically indebted to Karnāṭaka long before it could itself establish an empire in the first half of the seventeenth century A. D. Two divergent views have till now held the ground concerning the antecedents of the Marāṭha political power. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is of opinion that the Marāṭhas were little more than farmers, who through the successive stages of bandits, captains of mercenaries, and feudal barons, ultimately became sovereign rulers. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai maintains that the inspiration of the Marāṭha power flowed from two distinct quarters—the Devagiri and the Vijayanagara Royal Houses ([1]). Neither view is erroneous, although to accept either of them entirely as correct would be to accept incomplete facts.

The truth seems to be that we have to look elsewhere than either to Devagiri or Vijayanagara for the earlier springs of Marāṭha power. And in so doing we have to rely upon one kind of sources which has not been till now utilized by historians of Mahārāṣṭra. These are the Kannaḍa sources the importance of which I have elsewhere pointed out. They are, so far as the subject of our paper is concerned, two stone inscriptions and Kannaḍa literary works corroborated by notices in the writings of Muhammadan historians.

Before we proceed further we may note here that by the phrase "political tutelage" is not meant any conscious training in administration given to the Marāṭhas by the Karnāṭaka monarchs. On the other hand, it was an unconscious training which the Marāṭhas received at the hands of the latter, most often as soldiers in the cavalry units, or as cattle-lifters, or as officials in the civil administration. This training seems to have stood the Marāṭhas in very good stead when the time came for establishing their own political structure.

The most prominent Marāṭha families which thus took service under the Karnāṭaka monarchs were the Rāvutas, the Rāṇes and the Mahāpātres. Whatever may be the connotation and origin of the word Rāvuta in non-Karnāṭaka history, there is no denying the fact that so far as the history of the Deccan and Karnāṭaka is concerned, it stood for a Marāṭha horseman ([2]). Both Hindu and Muhammadan accounts prove this. Thus, for instance, Firistah tells us that the haughty Regent Kumal Khan desirous of plotting against his royal master Ismā'il 'Adil Shah, arrived at Bijāpur, and "raised a vast number of G'hora Rawoot, till at length having an army of twenty thousand devoted to his service, he called together his creatures on the 1st of Suffur, in the year 917" (A.D. 1511, April the 29th) in order to dethrone the monarch. Briggs commenting on the words Ghora Rāvut writes thus :— "Marāṭha horsemen, who received their pay annually, and were bound to appear fully equipped for service whenever called on. They provided their own horses, accoutrements, and arms, and maintained themselves ([3])."

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1 Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, p. 16 (3rd ed. Calcutta, 1929) ; Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 5 (2nd ed. Bombay, 1933).

2 I have reserved the discussion of the point that the word Ravuta which, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar so kindly has informed me, means only a cavalry man, or son of a cavalier, in Rājasthāni, for another connection. See my next work on the MARĀTHA DOMINION IN KARNĀTAKA.

3 Firistah, *The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, III. p. 37. Briggs' comment on the word is on the same page, *note*.

The Kannaḍa writers confirm this military nature of the Rāvutas. Govinda Vaidya, the author of *Kanthiravanarasarājavijayam*, written in A. D. 1648, explicitly states that Rāvuta meant a horse rider. While describing a war in which the Mysore ruler Cāmarāja was involved, he writes thus about non-Karnāṭaka horsemen :—

iridaru taridaru koredaru mūganu

Jaritopi jōdudagaleya,

pari patta rāvutara meyyali balu,

suragigalanu sekkidaru (4).

One of the earliest references to the Marātha Rāvuṭas is in a stone inscription dated A.D. 1113 in which we are told that under the Hoysala ruler Viṣṇuvardhana Deva, Kullahana Rāvuta and his wife Sahajā Devi caused the new town of Kollāpura to be built (5):

It is not to be imagined from the above that the Marāṭha people as a whole were called Rāvutas by the Kannaḍigas. The general appellation given to the Marāṭha people was Āreyars. The Āreyars as a whole began to show their warlike propensities so early as the middle of the twelfth century A. D. This is proved by a record dated A. D. 1265 in which the Hoysala king Narasimha Deva I is said to have trampled upon the Āreyars with his elephants (6).

But as cavalry men the Marāṭha Rāvutas had won renown for themselves. Thus in A. D. 1179 Biṭṭiga Rāvuṭa died fighting for his royal master the Hoysala ruler Vīra Ballāḷa (A. D. 1173-1220). Sitting on horseback Biṭṭiga Rāvuta defeated the troops of elephants of the enemy the Kaḷacuriya king Sankama (7).

Under the Yādavas too the Rāvutas became prominent as cavalry men. In A. D. 1224 Bokeya Boppa Nāyaka, the official under the Yādava king Singhaṇa, died fighting against Jayya Rāvuta (8).

The Rāvutas of Karnāṭaka had already won for themselves such renown for their bravery that "Rāvuṭa Rāya" (Lord of the Rāvutas) became a title of distinction conferred by the Karnāṭaka monarchs upon their highest officials. Thus in A. D. 1256 General Allāḷa Deva received the title of *Sarvādhikāri Rāvuta* from the Hoysala king Somésvara Deva (9). The famous General Perumaḷe was called "an Immaḍi Rāvuta Rāya" (*i.e.*, a twice Rāvuta Rāya) in A. D. 1316 (10).

One of the districts over which the Rāvutas were placed in the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. was Bētūr in the Dāvaṇagere tāluka of the Mysore State. Here was the Marāṭha governor Kūca Rāja stationed in A. D. 1271 under the Yādava

4 Govinda Vaidya, *Kanthiravanarasarajavijayam*, pp. 68, 201. (Mysore, 1926).

5 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V. Hn. 149, 39.

6 *Mysore Archæological Report for 1911*, p. 43.

7 *Ibid for 1931*, p. 100.

8 *E. C.* VII, Sk. 248, p. 141.

9 *Ibid*, IV. Hg. 10, p. 66.

10 *Ibid* Gu. 58, p. 46.

king Rāmacandra Deva. That our assumption given at the beginning of this paper that the general term given for the Marāṭhas was Āreyars, while that for the cavalry men was Rāvutas is correct, is proved by a record dated A. D. 1285 which tells us that Kūca Rāja was the *Dalavāyi* (commander) of the Āreyars, and that with his cavalry he looted the village of Enikal in that year, but that he lost his horse and banner in the raid ([11]).

In the reign of the same Yādava monarch Rāmacandra Deva along with the Rāvutas figures another Marāṭha family. This was that of the Rāṇes. In A. D. 1275 Balugi Devu Rāṇe of Sāḷuve was appointed governor over the Nāgarakhaṇḍanāḍ ([12]). The Rāvutas gave some trouble to the Yādava State under the same ruler. For in A. D. 1265 the Haḍuvana Rāvuta Śivadeva raided the Brahman village of Kuppaṭūr ; while in A. D. 1288 Purusottama, the son of Vīra Rāma Deva Rāṇe, saved the village of Kaḍubāḷu, Dāvaṇagere tāluka, when it was attacked by a neighbouring chieftain, but died in the attempt ([13]).

The administrative position of the Rāṇes under king Rāmacandra Deva is proved by two records dated A. D. 1290 and 1294 which inform us that Soyi Deva Rāne and Meyi Deva Rāne were the officials placed over the Eḍenāaḍ district respectively ([14]).

The Rāṇes received administrative experience also under the other great Karnāṭaka royal family—that of the Hoysalas. Brahma Deva Rāne was the official placed over Niṭṭūr (Kānakānahaḷḷi tāluka) in A. D. 1306 ([15]), and the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Viñja Deva Rāṇe was the official appointed over Huliyūrnāḍ in 1313 by the Hoysala king Ballāḷa Deva III ([16]).

Not only the Rānes and the Rāvutas but ordinary Marāṭha Brahmans as well secured posts in the civil administration of the country. But we now come to the Vijayanagara age which began in A. D. 1346. In A. D. 1376 the Marāṭha Brahman Devésvara Paṇḍita was appointed the manager (*yajamāna*) of the Brahman village of Hebbasūr *alias* Bukkarāyapura, under orders from the Vijayanagara king Harihara Rāya II ([17]).

A very prominent Rāvuta official under Vijayanagara king Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya in A. D. 1398 was Rāmiyappa (or Rāmappa) Rāvuta, who was the official placed over Mūḷbāgal. His father's name was Viśvanātha Rāvuta. Quite a number of inscriptions relating to Rāmiyappa Rāvuta have been discovered ([18]).

The Marāṭhas as administrative officials came into the greatest prominence in the sixteenth century A. D. In A. D. 1501 a new village called Rāvutapura was founded in honour of the official Siddayya Rāvuta. This person was the Great Minister of the Ummattūr chief Nañja Rāja Oḍeyar ([19]). In the same year Rāvappa Rāvuta figures as a great official with a minister named Benkarasa under him ([20]).

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[11] *Ibid*, XI.Dg.13, p. 28 : XII. Pg. 48, pp. 123-4.
[12] *MAR for 1911*, p. 41.
[13] *E. C.* VIII. Sb. 284, p. 50 : XI. Dg. 81, p. 66.
[14] *Ibid*, VIII. Sb. 192, 502, pp. 31, 84.
[15] *Ibid*, IX. Kn. 76, p. 130. This is in Grantha characters.
[16] *Ibid*, XI. Hr. 87, pp. 113-4.
[17] *Ibid*, IV. yd. 46, pp. 58-59.
[18] *MAR for 1913*, p. 47.
[19] *Ibid for 1928*, p. 48.
[20] *E. C.* IV. Ng. 101, p. 141.

The district of Mūḷbāgal continued to be under the Rāvutas, for in A. D. 1502 Malabari Deva Rāvuta was its administrator in that year ([21]). And in the next year appears Arasaṇa Nāyaka as the Agent for the affairs of the king Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya ([22]). For nearly a generation from A. D. 1502 Side Rāvuta figures as the Great Minister of the Ummatūr chief Nañja Odeyar ([23]).

We may give further instances to prove our assertion that in the sixteenth century the Marāṭhas became very prominent as officials under the Vijayanagara Government. The instances cited here refer to the reign of the celebrated Emperor, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great (A. D. 1509-1529). In A. D. 1519 he placed Haridāsa Rāvuta as a commandant of the hill fortress of Toragale ([24]). Haridāsa was the son of Rāmiyappa Rāvuta we have seen above. Haridāsa's brother Murāri Rāvuta was likewise given the command of the hill fortress of Tormale in A. D. 1520 by the same monarch ([25]). And the latter placed Viṭṭhala Rāvuta in A. D. 1525 as the Nāyaka over the Tēkaḷsīme([26]). And in A. D. 1526 Ranganātha Rāvuta, the son of Visvanātha Rāvuta, was the official placed over the Jagaḷūrsime by the same Vijayanagara monarch.

We have till now seen only two important Marāṭha names—that of the Rāvutas and the Rāṇes. In the middle of the sixteenth century we come across another important name—that of the Mahāpātres. During the reign of the Vijayanagara monarch Acyuta Deva Rāya, Somāśila Devu Rāhuta Rāya received the Nallūrsīme as a gift from the Emperor in 1530 ([27]). This high official possessed Basavāpaṭṭana also under him ([28]). In A. D. 1536 he is mentioned as the commandant of the hill fortress of Tillada, obviously in the Chamarājanagara tāluka. He is said to have received also the Terkaṇāmbisīme as a gift from the same Emperor ([29]). The high administrative status of the same official is proved by a record dated A. D. 1540 in which the Mahamaṇḍaleśvara Koṇḍayya Deva Cooḍa Mahā-arasu is said to have been his Agent for the affairs ([30]).

The Marāṭhas had by this time become so conspicuous in the Vijayanagara service that the people called them merely Marāṭhas. Thus in A. D. 1544 we have Marāṭhe Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Viṭṭhaleśvara Mahā-arasu, whose official position is proved by the fact that he had an Agent called Rācur Narasimhayya under him ([31]).

The Terakaṇāmbisīme continued to be under the Marāṭha officials in the reign of the next Vijayanagara ruler Emperor Sadāsiva. In A. D. 1550 it was bestowed by that ruler on Vidyādhara Mahāpātre for the office of *nāyaka* ([32]).

In A. D. 1563 we have the interesting instance of a Marāṭha Brahman named Tammoji Paṇḍita being an official under the notorious Ain-ul-Mulk Gilāny, the Muhammadan commander of the Emperor Sadāsiva Rāya ([33]). Even after the

21 *E.C.*, IX. Ht. 131, p. 104.
22 *Ibid*, XII. Mi. 106, p. 114.
23 *Ibid*, IV. Gu. 5, 6, pp. 36, Gu. 39, p. 43.
24 *Ibid*, Ng. 42, p. 124.
25 *Ibid*, XI. Dg. 146, p. 199.
26 *Ibid*, X. Mr. 35, p. 64: *M. A. R. for 1913-4*, p. 48.
27 *Ibid*, X., Sd. 18, p. 182.
28 *Ibid*, Sd. 22, p. 182.
29 *Ibid* IV. Ch. 196, p. 24.
30 *MAR for 1912-3*, p. 48.
31 *E.C.* IX. Bn. 30, p. 9.
32 *Ibid*, IV. Gu. 36, p. 42 : *MAR for 1912-3*, p. 48.
33 *E. C.* IV. Ng. 26, p. 117.

disastrous battle of Rākṣasa Tangaḍi (called erroneously Tāḷikoṭa) in A. D. 1565, as Firistah relates, the Vijayanagara Emperor Venkaṭapati Deva continued to entertain Marāṭhas under him. One such Marāṭha commander in the Vijayanagara pay was " Hundiatum Nāyaka ", whom Ali Ādil Shah tried in vain to wean from the Vijayanagara service. Seeing the treacherous death of his colleagues Yasu Paṇḍit and others at the hands of 'Ali Ādil Shah, " Hundiatum Nāyaka " chose to remain under the Vijayanagara Emperor Venkaṭapati Deva ([34]).

The contact between the Marāṭhas and the Kannaḍigas had by the first half of the seventeenth century become so close that the scribes of Kannaḍa inscriptions could write Marāṭhi as well Two damaged stone inscriptions in Marāṭhi (Devanagari script) found in Karnāṭaka (Channagiri tāluka) are of some interest in this connection. Neither of them is dated fully ; but from one of them we learn that Dādāji Rāya Rāva held the coveted post of Hadapa or Betel-pouch Bearer to the Sante Bennūr chieftain Hanumappa Nāyaka. The two records in question register some works of merit Dādāji constructed at Hiremādāḷu in the same tāluka. The Sante Bennūr chief Hanumappa Nāyaka, we may note by the way, ruled from A. D. 1601 until 1625 ([35]).

The many stone inscriptions we have examined above help us to explain one point which historians of Mahāraṣṭra have not yet asked—Why did the Marāṭha power assume such great proportions only in the middle of the seventeenth century and not earlier ? To those who rely exclusively on Marāṭha records and accounts of Europeans, the answer to this question may be in some such manner like the following—Because there was aggression in the seventeenth century on the part of the Delhi Sultans and the Deccani rulers.

But to students of Karnāṭaka history such an answer fails to satisfy. For, as is well known, Muhammadan aggression in the south was not a special feature only of the seventeenth century. We know that ever since the day of Sultan Alā-ud-Dīn Khilji, when the indomitable general Malik Kafūr had destroyed the Hindu kingdoms of the south, Hindu India south of the Vindhyas lay in perpetual dread of the Muslims. Mahārāṣṭra may certainly have come to the rescue of the Hindus one century earlier than it actually did, say, soon after the decisive battle of Rākṣasa-Tangaḍi (A. D. 1565). But why did Mahārāṣṭra as a political power appear only one century after that great battle ?

The Kannaḍa inscriptions we have examined above alone give us the answer. They enable us to assert that the Marāṭha power of the seventeenth century was but the inevitable culmination of the accumulated political and military wisdom which the Marāṭhas had for five centuries gathered under the Hindu rulers of Karnāṭaka, and to some extent also under the Sultans of the Deccan, and which they turned into good account only in the first half of the seventeenth century when they felt themselves confident and strong enough to stand forth as the protectors of the Hindu people. And in this rôle which the Marāṭhas so well played, it is pleasant to recollect that the credit of turning them into sound administrators and trustworthy soldiers goes largely to the Karnāṭaka monarchs, who were thus unconsciously instrumental in the birth of a great Hindu power in the middle of the seventeenth century.

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[34] Firistah, *op. cit.* III. pp. 141, 2.

[35] *E. C.* VII. Ci. 47, 48, 49, p. 187.

The early Europeans in Bhagalpur.

(By Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A.)

These pages contain a survey of the early Europeans, officials as well as non-officials, who resided in the town and district of Bhagalpur in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first-half of the nineteenth century. With the inception of the Company's rule in Bengal by virtue of the authority bestowed upon them by the grant of the Diwani, a supervisor was appointed for Bhagalpur with headquarters at Rajmahal in 1779. There was, ir course of time, an abolition of the Naib Nazim and the inauguration of the Fouzdary and the four courts of circuits. Thus, with the introduction of the new administrative system, a number of Europeans came and settled in the district both in public and private capacities.

The materials for this paper have been gathered from the official records preserved in the archive of the District Officer, Bhagalpur. The European cemetery at Bhagalpur has also yielded fresh information on the subject.

This paper furnishes an account of about four hundred and seventeen Europeans, and this number includes mostly males and a few females, and civil, ecclesiastical and military officials and the non-official Britishers and the continentals living in the city and the district of Bhagalpur. An account of the indigo planters has been purposely excluded from these pages inasmuch as the subject has been discussed in my paper entitled "An Account of the Indigo Planters at Bhagalpur" read at the fourteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore in 1937. The non-officials referred to in this paper were engaged in some independent calling such as trade and watch-making, or employed in private concerns of official Europeans, or were the recipients of Government pensions and bounties as retired Government civil or military officials.

(A)

1. Abercromby, W. A. (Company), Bhagalpur, 1846.
2. Ablett, Thomas, Overseer, Department of Public Works, Bhagalpur, 1831.
3. Adair, Robert—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1786.
4. Aguilar, Lieut.-Col., G. D.—Regulating Officer, Bhagalpur, 1835.
5. Alexander, J.—Acting Special Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur, 1838.
6. Alexander, W. S.—Judge, Bhagalpur, 1847.
7. Allan, James—Civil Assistant Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1849.
8. Alldin, Lieut.-Col. Commandant J. J.—Regulating Officer, Invalid Establishment, Bhagalpur, 1831 : died at Bhagalpur, October 1834.
9. Anderson, James—resident of Bhagalpur, 1807.
10. Anderson, P.—Resident of Monghyr, 1821.
11. Antisell, Sergeant, C.—of Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1836.
12. Antonio, L. Pere—an Italian, held 5 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1811.

13. **Armstrong, W.—Magistrate of Bhagalpur, 1805 : held in 1808, 50 bighas of land with a house and a garden at Monghyr.**

14. Arnold, Charles—Head writer, Collector's Department, Bhagalpur, 1817.

15. Ashe, St. George—Ensign, Bhagalpur, died November 1810.

16. Auvergne. Capt. P. D.—Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1803.

(B)

17. Buddeby, Capt. W. C.—Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1816.

18. Bagge, H. C.—Officiating Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur, 1837.

19. Bailey—Pension Establishment, Monghyr, 1827.

20. Baillie, Capt. Robert—of the 4th Regiment, Berhampur : an invalid officer living at Bhagalpur, 1783.

21. Balfour, Arthur—of 19th Regiment, Monghyr. an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.

22. Balfour, H.—Assistant Collector, Bhagalpur, 1850.

23. Barlow, E. F.—Collector of Bhagalpur : September 1830—February 1831 : First Assistant to Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1831.

24. Barlow, James—Superintendent of the Collections of Rajmahal, Bhagalpur and Monghyr, September 1774.

25. Barlow, Capt. M.—H. M.'s 3rd Regiment Buffs. Bhagalpur, 1827.

26. Barlow, R. Wellesley—Officiating Magistrate of Bhagalpur, 1825 and 1827. Magistrate, June, 1826. Member, Committee of Records, Bhagalpur, 1827. Held 13 bighas of land with a house at Monghyr (Date of authority, 17th July, 1793).

27. Bartley, Colonel—H. M.'s 49th Foot, Monghyr, 1831.

28. Bateman, Col. John—Died at Bhagalpur, 13th July 1799.

29. Battye, G. W.—Collector of Bhagalpur, April 1844—April 1845.

30. Battye, John—Died at Bhagalpur, 20th October 1819.

31. Battye, John—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1818-1819.

32. Bough, Lieut.—Monghyr, 1810.

33. Bayley, W. T.—Pensioner, Monghyr, 1825.

34. Beadon, C.—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1842—1844 : Superintendent of Khas Mahals, Bhagalpur, 1839.

35. Beauchamp, Lieut.-Col. G.—Pension Establishment, Monghyr, 1831.

36. Beckett, M. J.—held lands in Monghyr, 1818.

37. Bell, Sergeant, R. N.—Commissariat Agent, Monghyr, 1831.

38. Bennett, Capt. Hector—Commandant at Monghyr, 1793.

39. Bennett, F.—Acting Steam Agent, Bhagalpur. 1848.

40. Benson, Capt. G.—Adjutant and Commandant, Monghyr, 1805.

41. Berah, Capt.—56th Regiment Native Infantry, 1841.

42. Billon, Edward—Merchant, Monghyr, 1831.

43. Bird Lieut.-Col. J.—Commanding Detachment of Invalids, at Monghyr, 1818.
44. Blair, Capt.—3rd Local Horse, Bhagalpur, 1824.
45. Blair, Capt. Thomas—6th Regiment, Chunar : an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
46. Blunt, William—Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, Bhagalpur, 1812.
47. Blunt, Sir, C. R. (Bart.)—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1808.
48. Bonsfield, S. G.—Postmaster, Bhagalpur, 1849.
49. Boutein, Capt. J.—1st Light Cavalry, Bhagalpur, 1825.
50. Bowen, N. Owen—Bhagalpur, died 1790.
51. Brannon, P.—Pension Establishment, Monghyr, 1822.
52. Briggs, R.—Bhagalpur, 1816.
53. Brisco, Major-General, Commanding at Monghyr, 1798.
54. Brett, F. H.—Assistant Surgeon, Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1827.
55. Brodhurst, W. H.—Officiating Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1845.
56. Brown, G. F.—Officiating Commissioner of Revenue, Bhagalpur, 1837 : Commissioner of Revenue, 1846.
57. Brown, Major-General T.—Monghyr, 1822.
58. Browne, Capt. James—Collector of Rajmahal, 1782.
59. Brown, Capt.—Commanding H. M.'s 16th Foot, Bhagalpur, 1833.
60. Browne, J.—Assistant Surgeon, Monghyr, 1807.
61. Browne, Ulyses—Brevet Captain in service of E. I. Co., Bhagalpur, 1798.
62. Bryant, W.—River Merchant, Bhagalpur, 1845.
63. Buckanon, Dr. F.—Monghyr, 1811.
64. Buckland, C. T., Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur, 1850.
65. Bukett, J.—resident of Monghyr, 1804.
66. Buncombe, Lieut. J.—14th Regiment, N. I., Monghyr, 1825.
67. Bunny, Edward—Bhagalpur, 1814.
68. Burrington, Lieut.-Col.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1793.

(C)

69. Caesar, The Rev. Julius (M. A.)—Roman Catholic Missionary, Bhagalpur, 1827.
70. Cambell, Lieut.-Col. A.—9th Lancers, Monghyr, 1842.
71. Cambell, J. G.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1842-47.
72. Cameron, Lieut.-Col. A.—H. M.'s 3rd Buff's, Bhagalpur, 1831.
73. Campbell, Major C.—2nd Battalion, 4th Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1816.
74. Campbell, J. G.—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1847.
75. Campognollah, Augustus—Italian Missionary, Bhagalpur, 1800.
76. Canham, G.—Bhagalpur, 1842.
77. Cariage, Capt. J.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1807.
78. Carleton, Lieut. C. W.—Pension Establishment, Monghyr, 1827.
79. Carnegy, Major A.—15th Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1835.

80. Carruthers, Lieut. J.—Assistant to the Regulating Officer, Jagirdar's Invalid Establishment, 1798. He contributed £35 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe in 1798.

81. Catania, George—Bhagalpur, 1827.

82. Caufield, Lieut, J. P.—Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1849.

83. Chalmer, R. W. A.—held 50 bighas of land with a house and garden at Bhagalpur (Date of authority, January 1795) ; Magistrate of Bhagalpur, 1821 : Member, Committee of Records, 1822.

84. Chapman, Charles—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1784.

85. Chapman, John—resident of Monghyr, 1798 : contributed £6 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe (1798).

86. Clark, Major Edward—35th Regiment, Chunar : an invalid officer residing at Bhagalpur, 1783.

87. Clarke, James—Assistant Surgeon, Monghyr, 1827 : held one bigha of land with a bungalow at Monghyr.

88. Clarkson, R.—First Class Sub-Assistant, Great Trigonometrical Survey (1845), Bhagalpur.

89. Cleveland, Augustus—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1775—1784 : he brought about the pacification of the lawless and turbulent hill tribes of the Jungleterry of Rajmahal : contributed Rs. 500 for relief of the poor at Madras, October 1783.

90. Clode, Major William—33rd Regiment, Barrackpur : an invalid officer residing at Bhagalpur, 1783.

91. Cockerell, Charles—Assistant to Cleveland (No. 89) 1783 : Collector of Bhagalpur, 1784 : contributed Rs. 400 for poor relief, Madras, October 1782.

92. Collins, G.—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1819-20.

93. Colnett, Capt. J. R.—Assistant Barrack Master, 16th Division, Bhagalpur, 1827.

94. Cook, William—9th Regiment, Futtyghur : an invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783.

95. Coventry, Major, C.—32nd Regiment, N. I., Rajmahal, 1841.

96. Coxe, Capt. Digby—Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1827.

97. Cracklow, Lieut. G.—Assistant Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1822.

98. Crawford, Major James—Light Infantry, Ramghur : an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.

99. Christian, John—a Polish trader, Bhagalpur, 1798.

100. Christian, Rev. Thomas—Minister and Missionary attached to incorporated society for propagation of gospel—died, Bhagalpur, December 1827.

101. Cruttendon, Capt. George—Assistant to the Regulating Officer of the Native Jagirdars' Establishment, Bhagalpur : contributed £35 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe (1798).

102. Cummings, Capt. James—10th Regiment, Native Infantry : died at Bhagalpur, June 1806.

103. Cunliffe, D.—Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1841.

(D)

104. D'abbadie, Charles—died at Bhagalpur, August 1836.

105. D'Apres, John George—Died at Bhagalpur, July 1851.

106. David—A French cook, Bhagalpur, 1796.

107. Davidson, Major J.—Died at Monghyr, August 1802.

108. Davies, Lieut. H. C.—In charge Store boats in the river, Bhagalpur, 1807.

109. Davis, S.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1789.

110. Deane, H. W.—Judicial Officer, Bhagalpur, 1830, Assistant to the Commissioner, Bhagalpur, 1831.

111. Dent, T. R.—a resident of Monghyr, 1803.

112. Derogeo, H.—Proprietor of mahals Mahadeopur and Salimpur Ulal in pargana Colgong with the jummas of Rs. 1,312-15-2 and Rs. 18-15-9, respectively.

113. Deroza, A. F.—Bhagalpur, 1809.

114. Dessa, I. P.—uncovenanted Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1837.

115. Dick, A.—held land with a house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1816.

116. Dickinson, George—born 1762 : Collector, Bhagalpur, 1793—1801, held at Bhagalpur 281 bighas of land with a house, garden and office, 1803 : this land was originally purchased by Cleveland (No. 89) and after his death, Cleveland's executor Cockerell (No. 91) sold it to C. Chapman (No. 84) ; died at Bhagalpur, April 1802.

117. Dow, Alexander, Lieut.-Col. in Hon'ble Company Service : died Bhagalpur 31st July 1779, age 43 years. Chapman sold it to Adair (No. 3), Adair to Seton (No. 341) and Seton to Dickinson (No. 116). Dickinson contributed £125 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798.

118. Draper, James—Died at Bhagalpur, May 1831 : age 22 years.

119. Drummond, I. E. (Hon'ble)—Assistant to Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1835 : also Assistant in charge of pargana Furkeya, 1835.

120. D'Souza, Bonafice John—A writer, Invalid Establishment, Bhagalpur : appointed on December 1793 on pay Rs. 50 : a writer of the Bhagalpur Collectorate, 1804, pay Rs. 70.

121. Dunbar, J.—Collector, Bhagalpur, July 1835—November 1836, and from December 1836—April 1837.

122. Duncan, Major William—15th Regiment, Barrackpur : an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.

123. Dunn, Capt. William—Died at Monghyr, June 1802.

124. Dunsford, H. F.—Bengal Army, Bhagalpur, 1859.

125. Dussumier, P. L. Ernest—Died at Bhagalpur, September 1846.

126. Dwyer, Lieut. G.—Commanding European Invalids. Monghyr, 1827 : Pension Establishment, Monghyr, 1827.

(E)

127. Earle, Lieut.—Invalid Establishment. 1833.

128. Ellerker, Major General Edward—Contributed in 1798 sicca Rs. 800 in support of His Majesty's Government : Commandant of the garrison at Monghyr, 1802 : interred at Bhagalpur, 16th November, 1802 : held at bighas of land at Monghyr, 1803 : re-occupied the rocky hill called Peer Pahar on which a bungalow was built by subscription : died at Bhagalpur, on 15th November 1802.

129. Elliot, George—Died at Bhagalpur, October, 1794.

130. Erskine, J. D.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1804.

131. Eton, J. D.—Monghyr, 1827.

132. Evison, Capt. S.—Commander of Steam Vessel "Swenton", Monghyr, 1835.

133. Ewing, J.—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1811 : Acting Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1812 : held in 1814, 13 bighas of land with a house at Monghyr.

(F)

134. Farrie, Mathew—in the employ of J. Hay (No. 174) : resident of Bhagalpur since 1794.

135. Farrie, Mathew—in the employ of J. Hay (No. 174) : resident of

136. Fergusson, Lieut. J.—Bhagalpur, 1804.

137. Fitzpatrick, John—Died at Bhagalpur, 1871.

138. Fley, George—German watchmaker, Bhagalpur, 1795.

139. Flower, Lieut. S.—2nd Company, 25th Regiment, Native Invalids, Jamalpur, 1830 : 1st Company, 25th Regiment, Gauhati, 1831.

140. Fombelle, John—Judge and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1793 : Registrar of Nizamat Adalat, 1793 : Magistrate of Bhagalpur in charge of collections, 1801 : held 34 bighas of land at Monghyr, 1803.

141. Francis, Col. R.—Monghyr, 1822.

142. Francklin, Lieut. Col. W.—Regulating Officer, Bhagalpur, 1812 : held lands at Bhagalpur, 1825.

143. Fraser, Crichton—Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1795.

144. Fraser, Lieut.—Cavalry Line, Bhagalpur, 1825 : Invalid Establishment, Monghyr, 1833.

145. Fraser, Rev. William—Chaplain, Bhagalpur, 1826.

146. Freeman, J.—Bhagalpur, 1836.

147. French, Lieut.-Col. F.—Commanding European Invalids, Monghyr, 1816.

148. Farquhurson, Lieut. A.—Officiating Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1827 : in charge of Khas Mahals, Bhagalpur, 1937.

(G)

149. Gardner, Col. W. L.—Monghyr, 1824.

150. Garner, Capt. T.—Assistant to the Regulating Officer, Bhagalpur, 1812 : held 60 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1814.

151. Garstin, E.—Ensign, Monghyr, 1815.

152. Garstin, Henry—Captain, 10th Regiment, Light Cavalry, died Bhagalpur, 1832.
153. Gilbertdon, Capt. William—43 Regiment, Bengal Light Infantry, died at Bhagalpur, January 1852.
154. Giliman, Francis Ann—Died at Bhagalpur, 1819.
155. Gilpin, Major Martin—20th Regiment, Cawnpore : invalid officer residing at Bhagalpur, 1783.
156. Glass, John—Assistant Surgeon, Invalid Establishment, Bhagalpur, 1793 : Agent and Contractor for building the Jail at Bhagalpur, 1795 : Surgeon of Bhagalpur, 1805—Pay Rs. 239-3-10.*
157. Glass, Thomas—Died at Bhagalpur, August 1830.
158. Goldie, Capt.—A.—Superintendent and Pay Master Invalids, Monghyr, 1831.
159. Gracia, Manual—a Portuguese : died at Bhagalpur, 1847.
160. Graham, Capt. J.—Superintendent of the School for the instruction of children of the Hill Sepoys, Bhagalpur, 1825 : Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1827.
161. Grant, Charles—resident of Bhagalpur, 1782 : contributed Rs. 250 for poor relief, Madras : October, 1782.
162. Grant, L. L.—Monghyr, 1831.
163. Grant, Major Lewis—10th Regiment, Futehgurh : invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
164. Griffin, Capt. J. P.—Officiating Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1815 : Superintendent, oil and cloth manufacture, Monghyr, 1817 : held 34 bighas of land with bungalow at Monghyr (Date of authority, 25 July 1795).

(H)

165. Hamilton, Sir F. (Bart.)—Collector of Bhagalpur, 1805—1816 : Collector of Benares, 1817 : pay as Collector of Bhagalpur, Rs. 1,500.
166. Hamilton, Mariam Frances—Wife of Sir Frederick, Bhagalpur.
167. Hamilton, H. C.—Assistant Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1822 : Deputy Post Master, Monghyr, 1832 : Collector of Bhagalpur, May 1835—July 1835 : Officer in charge of Khas Mahals, Monghyr, 1835.
168. Harding, C.—Sessions Judge, Bhagalpur, 1832 : Commissioner of Revenue, Bhagalpur, 1835.
169. Hardy, Major Alexander—an invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783 : Commanding at Patna.
170. Harrington, J.—Magistrate of Bhagalpur, 1826 : officiating Judge of the Court of circuit for the Division of Murshidabad, 1826 : Revenue Member, Bhagalpur, 1826 : held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.

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*He died at Bhag, Aug. 1822. His cenotaph carries the following inscription—
"Few Europeans were more respected by the native than Dr. Glass. He was looked up to by them as their common father. To the full knowledge of his profession he added gentleness and mildness of manners that made him much beloved........"

171. Hartwell, G.—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1809.
172. Harwood, William—Supervisor, Rajmahal, 1772.
173. Hasilgrave, Sergeant J.—Pensioner, Monghyr, 1831.
174. Hay, John—Free merchant, 1814 : held lands at Bhagalpur and Colgong : a portion of his land at Colgong was occupied by a barren hill on the summit of which a small house was erected. It was held in the name of J. Grant who made it over to Hay.
175. Hawkshaw, George—Died at Monghyr, August 1803.
176. Heathcote, Major W.—2nd Battalion, 14th Regiment, Bhagalpur, 1818 : 1st Grenadier Battalion, Bhagalpur, 1824.
177. Hendry, Sergeant M.—Overseer, Barrack Department, Monghyr, 1827.
178. Hennessy, Major A.—Commanding detachment, Bhagalpur, 1809.
179. Hervery, Capt. A.—Sub-Assistant Commissariat General, Bhagalpur, 1820.
180. Hickman, Capt. J. P.—Deputy Post Master, Monghyr, 1830, and also Fort Adjutant : Fort Adjutant, Allahabad, 1832.
181. Higgins, G.—resident of Monghyr, 1809.
182. Hill, John—Bhagalpur, 1782 : contributed Rs. 400 for poor relief, Madras, 1782.
183. Hinde, Francis—Assistant Chaplain, Bhagalpur, 1853.
184. Hogg, J. J.—Surgeon, Monghyr, 1809 : held land with bungalow at Monghyr.
185. Hook, Lieut.-Col.—16th Regiment Foot, Sakrigully, 1938.
186. Howe, H. G. A.—Conductor of Ordnance, Monghyr, 1796.
187. Howatson, T.—Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, Invalid Establishment, Monghyr, 1833.
188. Hume, Lieut.—In charge of Store boats, Bhagalpur, 1804.
189. Hume, William—Died at Bhagalpur, August 1807.
190. Hunter, John—Acting Assistant Registrar, Bhagalpur, 1804 : Assistant to the Judge and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1805 : Sergeant Major, Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1807 : purchased from C. L. Trower 30 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.
191. Hunter, Frederick—Missionary, Bhagalpur, 1849.
192. Hutchinson, Lieut.-Col. John—Superintending Officer, Invalid thanas (1794) and Hill Jummas (1795) : made Lieut.-Col. in 1798 : contributed £200 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798 : held 60 bighas of land at Bhagalpur and 7 bighas at Colgong, 1803 : died at Bhagalpur, May 1801 : age 50.*
193. Hyde, Lieut. G.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1813.

(I)

194. Innes, Dr. J. (M.D.)—Civil Assistant Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1827 : Civil Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1834 : Deputy Postmaster, Bhagalpur, 1831 : First Assistant, Sadder Amin, Bhagalpur, 1831.

*His tomb-stone reads thus—" His constitution was destroyed by unmarried exertions for the benefit and prosperity of old soldiers and their families ".

(J)

195. Jacob, V.—Bhagalpur, 1825.
196. Jackson, C. C.—Collector of Bhagalpur, February 1835—May 1835.
197. Jackson, R.—Overseer, 16th Division, Barrack Department, Bhagalpur, 1821.
198. Jackson, W. B.—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1823 : Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, June 1824 to November 1824 : Acting Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1827.
199. Jaffray, Capt. Thomas—resident of Monghyr, 1798 : contributed £500 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe (1798).
200. James, H. F.—Collector of Bhagalpur, April 1837 to January 1842 and June 1842 to January 1843.
201. Johnson, A.—held about 49 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur (Date of authority, February 1793 and October 1813).
202. Johnson, P.—Registrar, Record Office, Bhagalpur, 1826.
203. Johnson, Richard—Bhagalpur, 1782 : contributed Rs. 500 for relief of the poor at Madras, October 1782.

(K)

204. Keelan, J.—Sub-conductor, Military Stores, Bhagalpur, 1831.
205. Kennaway, W. R.—Assistant to the Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1825.
206. Kennedy, G. M.—Assistant Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1822.

(L)

207. Lachlan, Capt. R.—17th Foot, Bhagalpur, 1819.
208. Laing, J. B.—Acting Collector of Bhagalpur, 1795 : Collector, 1798 : contributed £50 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe (1798) : Magistrate, 1807.
209. Landale, J. O.—Born Scotland : died at Bhagalpur, 1884.
210. Landale, Maria Caroline, wife of J. O. Landale—died at Bhagalpur, 1855.
211. Landeg, Capt.—Monghyr, 1808.
212. Lane, Major William—7th Regiment, Chunar : invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.
213. Lang, A.—Officiating Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1835 : Deputy Postmaster, Monghyr, 1836.
214. Lantour, E. F.—Officiating Collector, Bhagalpur, 1844 : died at Bhagalpur, October 1845.
215. Lary, Major William M.—34th Regiment, Cawnpur : an invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783.
216. Lavage, Capt.—27th Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1826.
217. Leach, Joanas—Head Master, Bhagalpur Mission School : died July, 1871.
218. Leewarner, E.—Commissioner of Circuit, 12th Division, Monghyr, 1832.

219. LePere Julian (LePere Antonio)—an Italian missionary of the Order of Confucius, Bhagalpur, 1804 : held 5 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.

220. Leverll, John Glass—Died at Bhagalpur, September 1846.

221. Littlejohn, Major P.—Commanding Officer, Corps of Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1806 : held 60 bighas of land with house and garden, 1816.

222. LeLievre, Edward—Executive Engineer : died at Bhagalpur, 1880.

223. Loch, George—Collector, Bhagalpur, November 1848—December 1851.

224. Lodge, Henry Y.—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1793.

225. Longhour, Michael—A Prussian musician under Dickinson (No. 116), 1798.

226. Lopes, D. P.—Bhagalpur, 1809.

227. Lopez, Felix—Owner of a considerable estate at Bhagalpur, 1870.

228. Lowther, W.—Bhagalpur, 1819.

229. Lucas, Major Richard—32nd Regiment, Buragong : an invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783.

230. Luke, W.—Assistant Collector, Bhagalpur, December 1832—March 1833 and November 1833—July 1834.

231. Lumsdaine, Major—9th Regiment, Chunar : an invalid officer, Bhagalpur, 1783.

232. Lutterloh, H. E.—Registrar, and Assistant Judge, Diwani Adalat, Bhagalpur, 1794 : held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur with bungalow which he purchased from late Registrar Smith, 1795.

(M)

233. Maccabe, John—Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, Monghyr, 1795.

234. Maccallum, Rev. John.—Bhagalpur, 1846.

235. Macclesfield, Henry—Sergeant Major, H. M.'s Local Infantry, Bhagalpur : died January 1881.

236. Macdonald, Major—8th Regiment, Cawnpur : invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.

237. Macdonald, J.—Bhagalpur, 1808.

238. MacFarlan, D.—Acting Registrar and Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1819.

239. MacGregor, General J. M.—Commanding Officer, Fort Monghyr, 1815 : Major General, 1817.

240. Mackintosh, Eliza (Mrs.).—Monghyr, 1835.

241. Mackintosh, Lieut. E.—2nd Battalion, Native Invalids, Monghyr, 1822.

242. Macra, J. M.—Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1823.

243. Mackey, J.—Bhagalpur, 1827 : Baugh Chapra Factory, Monghyr, 1830.

244. MacLeod, D. F.—Assistant Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1830.

245. Macra, J.—Garrison Surgeon, Monghyr, 1831.

246. Maddock, Lieut.-Col.—10th Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1834.

247. Madee, Joseph—in employ of Cleveland (No. 89), 1783.

248. Maling, C. S.--Registrar, Diwani Adalat, 1799 : 1st Assistant, Fouzdary Adalat : Acting Magistrate, Purneah, 1803 : held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1803 : this land was originally obtained by Lutterloh (No. 232) and on his demise transferred by sale to Maling.

249. Manley, Capt. N.—Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1820.

250. Marley—Bhagalpur, 1825.

251. Marrant—Conductor of Ordnance, 1798 : contributed Sicca Rs. 80 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe.

252. Marshall, Major W. H.—Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1817 : held land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1818 (Date of authority, October 1813).

253. Masson, John Macdongall—Died at Bhagalpur, August 1848.

254. Mathews, Major—Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1817 : held land with house and garden at Bhagalpur 1818 (Date of authority, October 1813).

255. McNamara, Lieut.-Col.—Monghyr, 1820.

256. McQueen, Major T. K.—45 Regiment, N. I. : died Bhagalpur, 1840.

257. Meredyth, Capt, A. T.—1st Battalion, 9th Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1814.

258. Middleton, Lieut. W.—Adjutant and Quarter Master, 16th Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1809.

259. Millet, D.—held land with house at Monghyr, 1821.

260. Millet, H.—Acting Magistrate, Monghyr, 1821 : held land with bungalow at Monghyr.

261. Mitchard, John—in employ of Cleveland (No. 89), 1783.

262. Money, W. J.—Officiating Collector, Bhagalpur, 1869.

263. Montgomerie, Capt. A.—Commanding Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1821 : possessed land with house at Bhagalpur.

264. Moore, D. R.—Superintendent, Vaccine Innoculation, Monghyr, 1804.

265. Moore, Ross—Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1803 : held one bigha of land at Bhagalpur.

266. Mordant, Thomas—Bhagalpur, 1795.

267. Mordaund, Capt.—Bhagalpur, 1782 : contributed Rs. 300 for poor relief at Madras, October 1782.

268. Moore, Rev. W.—Monghyr, 1834.

269. Morrel, H.—Bhagalpur, 1844.

270. Morris, Capt.—49th Foot, Monghyr, 1831.

271. Morshead, Lieut.—Adjutant, Hill Rangers. Bhagalpur, 1825.

272. Moseley, Capt. G. N.—Timber Agent, Nathpore, 1827.

273. Monatt, Lieut. C.—Engineer in charge of Jail construction, Bhagalpur, 1795.

274. Murchison, K.—Bhagalpur, 1782 : contributed Rs. 300 for poor relief, Madras, October, 1782.

275. Murihison, Simon—of Colgong : died at Bhagalpur, 21st August, 1815.

(N)

276. Neubolt, Ensign, G.—Sub-Assistant Commissary General in charge of the office of Timber Agency, Bhagalpur, 1835.

277. Nickoll, Major James—31st Regiment, Cawnpur : an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.

278. Nisbet, R. P. –Member, Committee of Records, Bhagalpur, 1827 : held 50 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1828.

279. Nix, Joseph—Died, Bhagalpur, February 1814.

280. Nugent, Lieut. G.—Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1828. Agent, 2nd Division, Army Clothing, 1810.

(O)

281. O'Brien, Capt.—His Majesty's 49th Regiment, Bhagalpur, 1834.

282. Ogilvie, A.—Collector, Bhagalpur, September 1848—November 1848.

283. O'Halloran, Mrs.—Bhagalpur, 1803.

284. Oldham, Lieut. J. O.—Bhagalpur, 1827.

285. Ormsby, W. C.—Ensign, 2nd Light Infantry Battalion, Bhagalpur, 1825.

286. Oyley, W. H. D.—Officiating Collector, Bhagalpur, 1866-67.

287. O'neale, Owen—An Irishman, in the employ of Major Hutchinson (No. 192), 1795.

(P)

288. Page, Capt. H. E.—Fort Adjutant, Monghyr, 1819 : Commissariat Agent, Monghyr, 1826.

289. Page, Mrs. Jane—Monghyr, 1830.

290. Palmer, Col. W. G.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1803, 2nd Battalion, 25th Regiment, Native Infantry, Bhagalpur, 1812.

291. Parrey, Edward—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1815 : held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.

292. Parr, Mrs. Jane—Soorajequrrah : died 3 July, 1803.

293. Paternoster—Monghyr, 1831.

294. Patterson, William—in the service of Cleveland (No. 89), 1783.

295. Pattle, Capt. W.—Commanding Left Wing, 1st Light Cavalry, Bhagalpur, 1825.

296. Pellow, Edward—Bhagalpur, 1830.

297. Pennington, Lieut. H.—Monghyr, 1824.

298. Pinard, A. C.—Died, Bhagalpur, August 1806.

299. Pionett, Sergeant, J.—Bhagalpur, 1859.

300. Pontet, J.—Uncovenanted Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1837.

301. Plowden, George, C.—2nd Assistant to the Magistrate : Collector, Bhagalpur, November 1831—December 1831.

302. Pereira, L. F.—Bhagalpur, 1807.

303. Plummer, Lieut.-Col. James—2nd Battalion, 2nd Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1811.

304. Pope, A.—Barrack Master, 16th Division, Bhagalpur, 1821.

305. Prickett, The Rev. R.—District Chaplain, Bhagalpur, 1831.

306. Pringle, D.—Acting Registrar, Diwani Adalat, 1827 : Secretary, Committee of Records, Bhagalpur, 1828.

(Q)

307. Quinan—Conductor of Ordnance, Bhagalpur, 1827.

(R)

308. Raikes, R. C.—Collector, Bhagalpur, April 1845—July 1845.

309. Ratton, Capt. H. R.—17th N. I., Bhagalpur : died 13th November, 1800.

310. Ravenshaw, C. A.—Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, June 1842.

311. Rea, Sergeant Major—Commissariat Agent, Monghyr, 1830.

312. Read, F. E.—Head Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1834 : Collector, Bhagalpur, November 1834—February 1835.

313. Reynold, Mrs.—Monghyr, 1833.

314. Rickets, M.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1816.

315. Robe, Lieut. W. J. J.—Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1825.

316. Roberts William—30th Regiment, Chunar : an invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.

317. Robertson, J.—Assistant Surgeon, H. M.'s Buffs, Bhagalpur, 1827.

318. Robinson, Capt. Edward—Engineer : died at Bhagalpur, 1731.

319. Robinson, John, Lieut.—Bengal Artillery : died at Bhagalpur, September 1845.

320. Roget, John—Native of Minorca : servant to General Ellerker (No. 128).

321. Ross, Thomas—Bhagalpur, 1830.

322. Routledge, Major F.—1st Battalion, 3rd Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1804.

323. Russell, C. D.—Collector of Bhagalpur, 3rd July 1845—11th February 1847.

324. Russell, H. P.—Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1826 : also indigo manufacturer, Rajmahal, 1822.

325. Ryan, Lieut. Charles—Bhagalpur, 1806.

(S)

326. Sadds, John—in the employ of Dr. Glass (No. 156), 1798.

327. Saers, A.—Monghyr, 1803.

328. Sage, J. W.—Collector of Bhagalpur, July 1821—March 1822.

329. Salmon, Capt. W. B.—18th Division, N. I., Monghyr, 1817 : 2nd Battalion, 18th Division, Cuttuck, 1818 : 72 N. I., Monghyr, 1831.

330. Sanfora, John—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1809 : held land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1814.

331. Sandys, Teignmouth—of Bengal Civil Service, Bhagalpur, 1879.

332. Sandys, Anna Elizabeth—wife of Teignmouth : died Bhagalpur, June 1879 : age 70.

333. Sault—Conductor of Ordnance, Bhagalpur, 1827.

334. Savary, Lieut. J. T.—Light Company, 24th Regiment, Bhagalpur, 1827.

335. Scott, Capt. Patrick—Adjutant to the Native Invalids, Monghyr, 1795 : in 1798 contributed Sicca Rs. 400 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe : in 1800, he possessed 2 bighas of land at Monghyr with a house which was originally built by General Goddard.

336. Scott, Capt. George—Monghyr, 1810.

337. Scott, Capt. P.—held land at Monghyr, 1818.

338. Seton, Sir Archibald (Bart.) : Collector, Bhagalpur, 1789 : Magistrate, Tirhoot, 1803.

339. Shackwell, Rev. W. H.—Church Missionary to the Sontals, 1870.

340. Shaw, Capt. Thomas—Adjutant, Corps of Hill Rangers, 1793 : held 14 bighas and 7 cottahs of land at Bhagalpur, 1802 : in 1798, contributed £62-10-0 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe.

341. Shaw, W.—held 60 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1802—1827.

342. Shadwell, Major—66th Regiment, N. I., Monghyr, 1824.

343. Shickle, Lieut. J.—Monghyr, 1814.

344. Sherbourne, Joseph—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1801.

345. Sherwill, Zoney Hill—Bhagalpur : died November 1849.

346. Shurbrick, Major—1st Light Cavalry, Bhagalpur, 1825.

347. Skinner, Lieut.-Col. Hert—2nd Battalion, 19th Regiment, N. I., Bhagalpur, 1803.

348. Skinner—Bengal Civil Service : died at Bhagalpur, February 1863 : age 28 years.

349. Sloane, Capt. D.—Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1804.

350. Smith, George—Trader, Bhagalpur, resident since, 1783.

351. Smelt, A.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1812 : held 41 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, with house and garden, 1814.

352. Smith, John—Bhagalpur, 1795.

353. Southall, Joseph—Bhagalpur, 1827.

354. Southerland, J. C. C.—Joint Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1815 : Joint Magistrate at Monghyr, 1816 ; in 1818 he held 18 bighas of land with house and garden at Monghyr.

355. Speed, Danvers, H. W.—Bhagalpur, 1825.

356. Spedding, William—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1804.

357. Spottiswood, Capt. Robert—held 10 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1800.

358. Stocehenry, J.—Bhagalpur, 1807.

359. Stean, Capt.—H. M.'s 49th Foot, Monghyr, 1831.

360. Steele, J.—In charge of Public Works, Bhagalpur, 1827.

361. Steele, T.—Overseer, 13th Department, Bhagalpur, 1825.

362. Steer, C.—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1836.

363. Steer, W.—Owned 35 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1818.

364. Steer, C. W.—Collector, Bhagalpur, September 1816—July 1818 : Collector of Jessore, 1816 ; Commissioner of Circuit, 12th Division, Monghyr, 1833 : Deputy Postmaster, Bhagalpur, 1835.

365. Stewart, Col.—General in 1818 : possessed land at Monghyr : the original purchaser Thomas. Glas disposed of it by private sale to Fombelle and by latter to Stewart.

366. Stokes, W.—Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, Monghyr, 1794 : possessed land at Monghyr.

367. Stonehouse, J. B. (Bart.)—Collector, Bhagalpur, September 1823—June 1824 : March 1825 to March 1826 : Deputy Postmaster, Bhagalpur, 1825 : Revenue Member, 1826.

368. Stoven, Col. Richard—17th Regiment Foot, Bhagalpur, 1805.

369. Sturt, R. R.—Collector, Bhagalpur, 1853.

370. Swatman, Lieut. W.—Sub-Assistant Commissary ; General and Timber Agent, Bhagalpur, 1834.

371. Swiney, Lieut. S.—Commanding Invalids, Monghyr, 1820.

(T)

372. Tanner, Capt. H.—Commanding at Monghyr, 1816 : Revenue Surveyor and officiating Regulating Officer, Bhagalpur, 1825.

373. Taylor, P. E. G.—Collector, Bhagalpur, 8th March 1848 to 9th September, 1848.

374. Templer, J. W.—Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1823 : Joint Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1825 : held 13 bighas of land with a house at Monghyr.

375. Thomas, Francis—in service of Cleveland (No. 89), 1783.

376. Thomson, H. I. (Mrs.)—Monghyr, 1831.

377. Tomba, Marco Della—also known as La Padre Mare, Le Pere Mark : The Rev. Marco., Italian Missionary, Bhagalpur, 1798.

378. Tombelle, J.—Bhagalpur : in 1798 he made a contribution of £156-5-0 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe and the defence of the British nation.

379. Toone, Lieut.-Col. W.—Commanding Officer, Hill Rangers, Bhagalpur, 1805.

380. Torrick, C. W.—Senior Sub-Assistant, Trigonometrical Survey. Monghyr, 1833.

381. Toshack, G.—Surgeon, Monghyr, 1798 : contributed Sicca Rs. 400 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798.

382. Travers, W.—Special Deputy Collector, Monghyr, 1836.

383. Trower, C. L.—Assistant to the Judge, Bhagalpur, 1799 : contributed £37-10-0 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798 : held 39 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1803 : Acting Collector, 24, Parganas, 1817.

384. Trower, W.—Assistant to the Judge, Bhagalpur, 1799 : Assistant to Magistrate and Registrar to the Judge and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1805.

385. Tulford, Deputy Commissary Ordnance, 1798, contributed Sicca Rs. 100 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe.

386. Turner, Edward—Surgeon to the garrison at Monghyr, 1802.

387. Turner, J. L.—held lands at Colgong with house and garden, 1825 : also 18 bighas at Bhagalpur, 1822.

388. Turner, John, L. O.—Bhagalpur : died August, 1816.

389. Turner, R.—Acting Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1807.

390. Tytlers, J.—Assistant Surgeon, Monghyr, 1822 : held 1 bigha of land at Monghyr, 1826.

(U)

391. Udney, George—Bhagalpur, 1782 : resident of Maldah, 1797 : contributed Rs. 200 for poor relief, Madras, October 1782.

(V)

392. Verbart, G. T.—Acting Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1822 : Revenue Member, Bhagalpur, 1827 : held 13 bighas of land at Monghyr (Date of authority, July 1793).

(W)

393 Walker, Alexander—Surgeon, Bhagalpur, 1782 : contributed Rs. 300 for poor relief Madras, October 1782.

394. Ward, Crossley William—Assistant Collector, Bhagalpur, 1807 : pay Rs. 400.

395. Ward, J. P.—Acting Collector, Bhagalpur, 1822 ; Collector of Bhagalpur and Commissioner, November 1824 : Acting Collector, 1825 : Collector, March to December 1828, February 1829 to September 1830, February 1831 to November 1831, December,

1831 to December 1832, March 1833 to November 1833, January 1834 to November 1834 : officiating Commissioner of Circuit, 12th Division, Monghyr, and Acting Revenue Member, 1826 : held land at Bhagalpur, 1829.

396. Ward, W. C.—Assistant to Collector, Bhagalpur, 1808.

397. Ward, J. P.--Collector, Bhagalpur, 1822—26 : held 35 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur.

398. Ware, Major Charles—17th Regiment, Midnapur : invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.

399. Warner, E. Lee—Commissioner of Revenue, Monghyr, 1832 : Judge of Bhagalpur, 1835.

400. Watson, Capt.—Bhagalpur, 1826.

401. Watson, W. C.—Collector, Bhagalpur, February-March 1847 and December 1847 to March 1848.

402. Welding, Lieut.-Col.—Commanding garrison at Monghyr, 1775.

403. Wells, F. O.—Acting Joint Magistrate, Monghyr, 1831.

404. William, W. T.—Bhagalpur : contributed Rs. 50 for poor relief, Madras, October 1782.

405. Williams, John—Commanding, 2nd Battalion, N. I. ; held lands at Bhagalpur (1818) and Monghyr : contributed Rs. 500 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798.

406. Wilson, Lieut.—Bhagalpur, 1782.

407. Welton, Major, G.—Captain 1798 : Major and Regulating Officer, Bhagalpur, 1804 : Commanding Officer and Superintendent, Invalid Establishment, Monghyr, 1805 : contributed £35 in support of His Majesty's Government and the defence of the British nation in 1798.

408 Winter, Sergeant Major—Bhagalpur : contributed £12-10-0 in support of His Majesty's Government in Europe, 1798.

409. Wintle, James—Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1802 : Judge and Magistrate, Bhagalpur, 1805 : purchased from Tombelle (No. 381), 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur.

410. Womburyy, John—Bhagalpur. He contributed Rs. 500 for poor relief Madras, October, 1782.

411. Wood, David—Died at Bhagalpur, 1796.

412. Wright, George—14th Regiment, Berhampur ; invalid officer at Bhagalpur, 1783.

413. Wyatt, James—in the employ of Charles Cockrell, Assistant to Cleveland (No. 89), 1783.

(Y)

414. Young, Major Thomas—of Bengal Native Infantry : died at Bhagalpur, January 1832.

The Malabar Rajahs and the Company.

(Based on unpublished English records.)

(By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P. R. S.)

The relation of the Company with the Rajahs of Malabar during the close of the 18th century, when the English were engaged in bitter conflicts with their most inveterate foes, Hyder and Tipu, still forms an unwritten chapter of Modern Indian History. Mill, the classic historian of this period, has not dealt with it. Thornton in his 'History of the British Empire in India' makes only incidental references to British campaigns in Malabar in the course of the Company's wars with Hyder and Tipu. Robert Montgomery Martin has quoted a few letters relating to this topic, dated between 1798-99, in his compilation of the 'Despatches, Minutes and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley'. Mr. Sidney J. Owen also has put certain records regarding the Malabar coast in 'A Selection from the Despatches, Memoranda and other papers relating to India of the Duke of Wellington' ; but these are all confined to the period extending from the 7th April, 1800, to the 11th July, 1804, and illustrate the activities of the Duke of Wellington in bringing the Malabar country under the effective control of the English. We get only some stray references regarding the Malabar Rajahs in Wilks' *History of Mysore* and Francis Buchanan's 'Journey (1800-1801) from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar'.

Some time back, I discovered a file of manuscript English letters in the valuable historical collections of Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan, a prominent public man of the metropolis of modern Bihar having a keen interest in historical antiquities, which are full of many important and interesting details regarding the relations of the Malabar chiefs with the Sultans of Mysore since Hyder's first invasion of this region in 1766 A.D. and subsequently with the English East India Company. I am told by the Rai Bahadur that he purchased these records from Mr. Francis Edward, an old-book-seller of London. Besides being important for the study of Anglo-Malabar relations, those letters also supply us with many significant facts regarding Anglo-Mysore relations during the period under review, which I hope to bring to light in the near future. As an example, I quote here only one such letter written by Captain Alexander Walker to Lt.-Col. Dow (commanding the northern district of Malabar since May, 1798), dated Bombay, the 9th July, 1798 :—"The intelligence conveyed occasionally from Madras concerning Tippoo's intentions is always of an opposite complexion to that received from Malabar. By a statement of apparently great candour which I saw lately he is represented as anxious and determined to preserve his treaty with us. The French have used every argument to shake his resolution and he is kept informed of the brilliant state of their affairs in Europe. He has answered all their entreaties by observing that the fate of war is uncertain as he has experienced, that those events which are represented so much to their advantage have happened in a part of the world from this where they have no influence and that our power continues as far as relates to him unimpaired. The mind and the interest of Tippo must always be hostile to us but there is the strongest evidence that he will adhere rigidly to the terms on which he made peace with us until the French can support him with a fleet and an Army, events unlikely to happen. This disposition in Tippo derives a greater degree of credit from the character of those counsellors, who share at present all his confidence".

Turning to Malabar, we find that the more important chiefs of this region were the Rajah of Cherical, the Rajah of Cohote, the Rajah of Cartenadar, the Rajah of Coorg, the Rajah of Bullum(1), the Pyche Rajah in Wynaad, and the Rajah of Cannanore. During Hyder's first invasion of the Malabar in the year 1766, the Rajah of Cherical " took refuge in Tellicherry, where he remained under the Company's protection till the year 1776, when Hyder having made a peace with the Marathas invaded the Malabar coast once more and subdued it. The Prince of Cherical, tired of leading an inactive life at Tellicherry, withdrew himself from the Company's protection, and went to Hyder who gave him the government of the Cohote country, and also in the year 1777 restored to him the Cherical country (which since the year 1766 had been in the hands of an ally Rajah of Cannanore) upon engaging to pay him a yearly tribute. The Prince continued in the enjoyment of these countries and received the Revenues, but appeared in arms against the Company at the commencement of the troubles in the year 1790 as he declared at that time by Hyder ordered "(2). In 1797 the Cherical chief was admitted as an ally of the East India Company. The Rajah of Cohote was also deprived of his territory in the year 1766 by Hyder but " taking advantage of the war with the Company in 1768 the reigning King of Cohote entered the country and obliged Hyder's troops to abandon it. He continued in quiet possession of it till the year 1777 when on Hyder's second invasion he was once more obliged to fly and retire to his strongholds in the hills, and would never submit to Hyder's government. The successor of that prince made an attempt to get possession of this country again in the year 1779, regained part of it, but on Hyder's sending some forces from Seringapatam the Cohote raja retired to the hills "(3). He later on recovered possession of his dominions and became a friend of the Company. The old Rajah of Cartenadar died during the siege of Tellicherry by Hyder, who seized his dominions. His successor " recovered them again in the year 1768 in the same manner as the Rajah of Cohote and in the year 1777 made an agreement with Hyder Ally to become his tributory when he was restored to his territory, but evading Hyder's orders to assist the French ", when the English besieged Mahe in 1779, " he was forced to flee (from) his kingdom being in danger of his life, and retired to Tellicherry. An elder nephew of the late Prince succeeded him and was in arms " against the English ; but subsequently the Rajah of Cartenadar became an ally of the Company(3). So far as Coorg, lying about 40 miles to the eastward of Tellicherry, was concerned, on the reduction of it by Hyder in 1773 its Rajah " was permitted to retain little but was divested of all power and authority and employed in assisting in the collection of revenues, Hyder governing it by one of his own officers "(4). But after the siege of Tellicherry had been

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1 The district of the Bullum Rajah extended " about thirty-five or forty miles along the Western Ghauts, between the Currut Kull or Jemalabad Ghaut, the road to which is its northern boundary, and the district of Koorg, which bounds it to the south-ward. Its general breadth from west to east is about twenty-five miles, and it is bounded to the eastward by the river Hemavutty, which rises nearly in the Cundacull Ghaut, and falls into the Cavery after passing the boundary of the districts of the rajahs of Koorg and Bull ". Letter to Lieutenant-General Stuart, Seringapatam, 31st October, 1801, in Owen's *Wellington Despatches*, pp. 129—31.

2 Letter from Richard Church and Factors at Tellicherry to the Commissioners near Mangalore, dated the 16th February, 1798, *vide* No. 11 in Appendix to this paper.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

raised by Hyder, one Olah Naigin, " a principal inhabitant of those parts, and a man of an enterprising genius, privately encouraged thereto by the Rajah's family to whom he was related by marriage persuaded his countrymen to take up arms and revolt against Hyder's government and having in the course of two or three months raised a body of 6 or 7000 men he with them in a short time subdued almost the whole of that country, fortified the passes into it defeated several detachments against him * * * * * *"(5). The young Rajah of Coorg was imprisoned by Tipu Sultan ; but he succeeded in effecting his escape and re-asserting his authority over his kingdom by expelling ' the foreign population ' that had been planted there by the Sultan of Mysore. During the third Anglo-Mysore War, he " gave passage to the army of General Abercromby through his dominions (in 1791), and greatly facilitated their operations by the supply of provisions, the communication of intelligence, and the extension of every species of aid he could command "(6). At the close of this war, the English obtained by the treaty of Seringapatam the province of Malabar and sovereignty over their ally, the Rajah of Coorg, both of which were important for the English as enabling them to hold Tipu in check. Malabar was placed under the Chiefship of the factory at Tellicherry,(7) where the Company had first settled in 1683 A.D.

But all the Rajahs of Malabar did not quietly submit to the Company's authority. Rather, the relations between them, excepting the Rajah of Coorg, and the English, during the period following the treaty of Seringapatam, were far from friendly. The Duke of Wellington observed in his '*Memorandum on Marquess Wellesley's Government of India*', written in 1806 A.D., that " as for the Rajahs of Malabar, they (with the exception of the Rajah of Coorg) had been in a state of hostility with the Company from the conclusion of the peace of 1792 till the year 1798, and had kept a considerable proportion of the Bombay army in constant hostile operations against them "(8). The records, now studied by me, contain numerous details, which amply vindicate this observation. We know from one of these(9) that in the course of two or three years after 1793, the Government of Bombay placed the administration of Malabar in the hands of a Commission, composed of Mr. Wilkinson (President), Lt.-Col. Dow, Mr. Handley(?), Mr. Rivett, and Mr. Robert Richard. The Commission was constituted with the hope that it " would be a sufficient provision against inefficient councils and corrupt practices(10) ". But its members did not pull together well, and the Court of Directors held them responsible for the rebellions of the Malabar Rajahs since about 1796 A.D.(11).

The Bombay Government took immediate measures to suppress these risings in Malabar, and the vigorous efforts of a number of British generals like General Stuart, Lt.-Col. Dow, Major-General Robert Bowle, Captain Alexander Walker, Lt.-Colonels Dunlope and Wiseman, Thomas Eliff, and others, succeeded in compelling some of the Rajahs to submit to British

5 Letter from Richard Church and Factors at Tellicherry to the Commissioners near Mangalore, dated the 16th February, 1798, *vide* No. 11 in Appendix to this paper.

6 Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. II, p. 499.

7 *Vide* Document No. 11 quoted in Appendix to this paper.

8 Owen, *Wellington Despatches*, p. 4.

9 An unsigned rough draft of a letter to the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

authority. Of all the British commanders, Lt.-Col. Dow played the most prominent part. Thus in October, 1796, the Rajah of Cohote was granted 'free pardon' by the governments of Bombay and Bengal[12]. He became henceforth a faithful ally of the Company and promised to help it against the Pyche Rajah. On the 4th May, 1797, the Company issued a Proclamation promising 'clemency' to such persons "as actually and formally put themselves" under British authority and also to such "chiefs and ryots who remain peaceably in their districts or who offer no molestation" to the British government[13].

But the Pyche Rajah of Wynaad and his adherents still offered "the most obstinate resistance"[14], and on the 9th May, 1797, General Stuart wrote from Tellicherry to Lt.-Col. Dow, commanding at Cohote, "that the person of the Pyche Rajah should be attached or secured and that every proper means may be made use of to accomplish this desired event. The rewards for bringing in his person, if not already mentioned to the irregular Moplahs or chiefs, it ought to be done immediately * * *"[15]. The Bombay Government wrote to Lt.-Col. Dow on the 26th July, 1797, that the Pyche Rajah was "no longer to exert authority" in his district, which it proposed to give away to the Cotiote[16] Rajah[17]. After resisting for some time the vigorous exertions of Lt.-Col. Dow, the Pyche Rajah signed a treaty with the Company. But this treaty, as the Earl of Mornington observed in his letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, written on the 28th February, 1798, from the Cape of Good Hope on his way to India, was not "so complete * * as to warrant a sentiment of security either in his weakness or in his sincerity"[18]. He continued therein :—"With respect to the coast of Malabar I shall never think our affairs safe in that quarter until the whole tribe of peculators and plunderers has been severely punished, and until the Pyche Rajah has been reduced to unconditional submission. Our possessions on the coast of Malabar will become an encumbrance to us if they are not speedily brought into some condition of order"[19]. We know from certain other records, quoted by Martin[20], that the Company adopted vigorous measures to bring the Rajahs of Malabar under its influence and to resist the claims of Tipu over them[21]; and that, at the close of the last Mysore War, the control of the entire length of the Malabar coast, from Goa to Cochin, important from strategic as well as commercial points of view, passed to it.

But, as Mr. Owen has pointed out, "except at the coast stations, the Company's authority in the country was, for some time, little more than nominal"[22]. He has quoted certain despatches of the Duke of Wellington which show how the Duke had to struggle hard from 1800 to 1804 to make the Company's authority effective over the Malabar coast.

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12 *Vide* document No. 1 in Appendix to this paper.

13 *Vide* document No. 5 in Appendix to this paper.

14 *Vide* document No. 6 in Appendix to this paper.

15 *Ibid*, and also Document No. 9.

16 *For* a description of Cotiote, *vide* Francis Buchanan, *A Journal from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar,* Vol. II, pp. 96, 131, 483, 490, 499, 520, 530, 540.

17 Letter from Governor Duncan to Lt.-Col. Dow, dated the 26th July, 1797.

18 Martin, *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. I, p. 24.

19 *Ibid*, p. 30.

20 *Ibid*, pp. 323, 436, 443, 520, 524.

21 Letter to the Commissioners near Mangalore about the present state of the Malabar coast from Richard Church and Factories, dated Tellicherry, 16th February, 1798.

22 Owen, *Wellington Despatches*, XXXIII.

APPENDIX.

1. Letter from A. Dow to Koorminaad Rajah (of Cohote), dated Callicut, October, 1796 :

"I congratulate you with sincere pleasure on the free pardon conferred on your relations by the Government of Bengal and Bombay 'which I am also happy I have in some measure been the means of accomplishing' .... The welfare and prosperity of you and your family is what I very much desire and the good opinion I entertain of you leads me to hope that you will take care not to disappoint me in my expectations. The eyes of the Governor-General, the Government of Bombay and all the Gentlemen are now towards you.

They expect not only that you will give good advice to your relations but that you will pay without delay your 3 Kists. You remember what trouble your delay in paying the 1st and 2nd occasioned both to you and to me. You have too much understanding to allow this to happen again.........."

2. Translation of an *olla* from Kiruda Werma, Rajah of Cotiote, to Commissioner Col. Dow :—

"What passed between us when we had meeting above the Ghauts in the mouth of Mithoonum 971 you must well recollect and what took place thereafter has been the subject of many letters— after having secured a pardon I while I was residing peaceably I without any attempt towards interrupting the Company's business at Tellacllum, the Company giving credit to the words of wicked people, and believing everything they chose to represent, withdrew their protection from my subjects. You very well know the confidential footing on which I formerly lived with the Hon'ble Company. If to your goodness I shall be in future indebted for a return of the like confidence I myself be permitted to reside in peace and..........in my country, I will myself pay faithfully, the Company's Angdre (revenue)."

3 "In prosecution of the plan for the subjugation of the Pyche Rebel by the means of Trafalgar troops, we have to acquaint you that the Coorminaad Raja has communicated to us his intentions of shortly proceeding to the Wynaad at the head of two thousand men, part of which will ascend the pass of Pyrmulla under the command of Cootally Nair, and part will prosecute their march under him at the route of Tambercherry Ghaut. This last place he strongly recommends should be occupied by a body of regular troops to cover his retreat in the event of his being unexpectedly obliged to retire. In this measure we cordially coincide both on motives of general policy, as well as the immediate necessity which exists for the presence of military forces in that quarter to obviate the conclusion which Tippoo Sultan—should he avow the letters of his officers to Colonel Dow—may draw that our precipitate abandonment of Wynaad was in itself an acknowledgment of his superior claims to that territory." (Letter from Rivett, Wilkinson, Richards, members of the Commission at Mahe, to Major-General Robert Bowle, Commanding the Troops in the Province of Malabar, dated Mahe, April 10th, 1797).

4. "I have judged it necessary to enclose you a letter of further Instruction for your guidance in carrying the proposed service into execution and I should think it would be proper for you to communicate the outlines of the instructions at large to Lt.-Col. Dunlope and Wiseman, in order that they may be acquainted with the intention of marching the present detachment into Cohote, and with your proposed plan of operations, etc., that in the event of any accident happening to you (which God forbid) they may be able to follow up the intended plan as far as they may find it practicable.

All the troops, regular and irregular, with the provisions, stores, carriage, etc., which is to attend the detachment on the present service, being now in camp, and I trust in readiness to move, and every proper inducement having been held out to the Pyche Rajah and his adherents to come in and submit themselves to Government having proved ineffectual, I am now to direct that you under your command march the detachment into the Cohote district to-morrow morning by such routes and in such column or columns as you may judge most proper for the purpose of carrying into execution the orders you are already in possession of.

You will as often as you can find proper opportunities inform me of your progress and success and your probable further views or speculations regarding the reducing the refractory inhabitants of that district to a proper state of subjection and making them obedient to the Hon'ble Company's Government". (Letter from General Stuart to Lt.-Col. Dow, commanding at Cottiangurry, dated Tellicherry, Sunday, the 7th May, 1797).

5. "Since despatching to you my instructions and transmitting the Proclamation under the 4th May, it has occured to me that difficulties may arise from the tendency of the last writing, which holds out pardon and consequently protection to those who surrender themselves to our Government.

The literal interpretation may only warrant that such clemency be extended only to such persons as actually and formally put themselves in our power and you may probably entertain doubts as to the propriety of imparting the indulgence to those who neglect the external ceremony of submission, but also remaining quietly or indifferently at their homes may be said to conform to the enlarged meaning or spirit of the Proclamation. * * You will be pleased to consider the Chiefs or Ryots who remain peaceably in their districts or who offer no molestation to our Government as enjoying our protection and entitled to the benefit of the Proclamation"............

"The detachment must in the same manner pervade and penetrate through the country as if it was universally hostile, but in that case the persons and property of the submissive inhabitants are not to be injured". (Letter from General Stuart, Headquarters, Tellicherry, 7th May, 1797, to Lt.-Col. Dow).

6. "I think it necessary to inform you that you may expect the most obstinate resistance from the Pyche Rajah and his adherents as it appears by a letter received last night that everything he required was offered to him by the Cherical Rajah to induce him to come in. Even the old Rajah of (?) who is upwards of 85 years of age offered to accompany him and to be answerable for his returning in safety to Cherical should he not approve of the terms that we might be disposed to grant him. This being the case it is of the utmost importance that the person of the Pyche Rajah should be attached or secured and that every proper means may be made use of to

accomplish this desired event. The Rewards for bringing in his person if not already mentioned to the irregular Moplahs or Chiefs, it ought to be done immediately and I have the greatest confidence should he meet you in the field and loose in action 2 or 300 of his adherents he will sure apply to you to come in for attached as these people are to their chiefs I never knew them bear up against so severe a loss of Men but the consequence was generally if not always attended with their beginning immediately to disperse.

I trust I shall have good accounts from you in the course of the night or early in the morning '. (A private letter from General Stuart, dated Tellicherry, 12 o'clock 9th May, 1797, to Lt.-Col. Dow, commanding Cohote).

7. " As I deem the Angurry(?) of Conjiote to be a proper station for securing the future tranquility of the Cotiote and other districts below the Western Ghauts, I have judged it necessary that you should take part with your detachments in that village (*i.e.*, Wynaad). You will please therefore to make yourself acquainted with all the passes that lead into this country and particularly with those that are adjacent, as it is principally with a view of maintaining the communication through these passes uninterrupted that the troops are quartered in the Wynaad.

* * * * * *

For your information and further guidance I have enclosed a list of the number and distances of the Ghauts that open from this district on the Coramballa ".

List of names of the Ghauts or Passes that led into the Wynaad and Coramballa districts :—

1st.	Carra Cotha Cherrim to the southward.	
2nd.	Pandaloor Cherrim 8 miles to the northwest of the former.	
3rd.	Cholanadi Cherrim 8 miles from Pandaloor.	
4th.	Kyda Kundiparra Cherrim 4 miles north of the former.	
6th.	Tallinatoo Cherrim or Balliala ..	6 miles.
5th.	Tamricherry Cherrim	4 miles.
7th.	Tennoo Cherrim	8 miles.
8th.	Erromootoor Cherrim	4 miles.
9th.	Cootiary Cherrim	4 miles.
10th.	Ella Cherrim	2 miles.
11th.	Perrim Cherrim	8 miles.
12th.	Nelliordo Cherrim ..	10 miles.
13th.	Motioor Cherrim	2 miles.

(Letter from Col. Dow to Lt. Thomas Iliff, Commanding the Detachment of the 9th Battalion in the Wynaad, dated Cotiote, 17th May, 1796.)

8. Government advertisement after the re-establishment of peace in the Cotiote District :—

" Peace having been re-established in the Cotiote District inhabitants of Cotiote may safely return and quietly live in their homes and there will

be no impediment to their going and coming, carrying and bringing, here and there, anything they chose ; the communication being again open, and free, as usual, between the said District and the rest of the Hon'ble Company's Dominions in Malabar should any commit malpractices they shall have punishment from the Company inflicted on them, and if anyone crosses the river from the seacoast and without consent of the owner cuts down a tree or plucks the fruits of the gardens, and carries them away, he shall also be punished ". (Dated, Tellicherry, the 23rd July, 1797.)

8-A. Letter from Governor Duncan and Stuart to Lt.-Col. Dow, dated Tellicherry, the 26th July, 1797.

Purport :—" Pyche Raja is no longer to exert any authority in the District " ;—proposal to give away that district to the Cotiote Rajah.

9. Memorandum for Colonel Dow's Information and Guidance :—

" Colonel Dow should exert every nerve to surprise the person of Canote Numbyar, and take him, living or dead, as he is the primary and subsisting cause of all the present disturbances, and alone prevents the Pyche Rajah from coming in, as the Governor has been well apprised by the agents of the Cherical Raja.

It ought to be also a constant object with Colonel Dow to seize on the person of the Pyche Raja, offering for him and for Canote Numbyar the rewards already specified in the letter to the Colonel from the Commander-in-Chief, which if explained to the Moplahs may induce them to attempt surprizing either one or both of these chief persons in the present rebellion.

The seizure in like manner of Kyderee Amboo and of all the other headmen under the Pyche Raja are objects that Colonel Dow must never lose sight of, but steadily pursue by every means in his power ".

Currency in Orissa.

(By Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L.)

Before the acquisition of Orissa from the Marathas by the English the prevailing currency was in cowries. On its acquisition the Commissioners for the affairs of Cuttack entered into engagements with the Rajahs and fixed the *peishcush* or revenue to be paid by them in terms of cowries. The Collector writes to Thomas Graham, Actg. President, and Members of the Board of Revenue under date 9th June, 1806 :

" GENTLEMEN,

On the 7th of December, 1803 the Commissioners entered into engagement with the Kunka Rajah to demand no more than 84,840 Khwans of cowries at the rate of 4 Khwans 2 pans to the rupee or Rupees 20,586—8—10. I am directed to make settlement with the Rajah."

From another letter it appears that the Commissioners entered into engagement with the Raja of Neelghurry (Ram Chunder Murdraj Hurrychandan) to pay a Peishkush of 23,400 Khwans of cowries. Here is a list of engagements with Rajas, Zemindars and Khundytes showing the payment of revenue in cowries :—

Names.	Rajah of the fort of	Amount of Peishkush Kh. P. G.
Ram Kissen Deo	All ..	1,13,436-0-0
Ram Chunder Mehendar Bahadur	Dekanal	23,125-0-0
Sree Chundun	Bankee	20,135-0-0
Nursing Bhamerbur Ray ..	Kundiapara ..	19,100-0-0
Gour Churn Bhunj	Jourmo	3,000-0-0
Maun Dhata	Niagurh	26,450-0-0
Maun Sing Huree Chundun ..	Nursingpoor ..	6,601-0-0
Bajur Dhur Narinder ..	Runpoor ..	6,000-0-0
Jorwar Sing Murdraj	Angool	7,500-0-0
Kissen Chund Murdraj ..	Hindool	2,500-0-0
Bhagruttee Huree Chundun Tekoit	Talchare ..	4,715-0-0
Chumput Sing	Tiggreah ..	4,000-0-0
Sree Churn Bewirtah Patnaik ..	Autgur	28,111-13-0
Pindakee Mungraj	Barrambah ..	6,340-0-0

The Kists were Choit, Jite and Asar.

In another list (from Balasore Records) we find the following engagements :—

Ram Chunder Murdraj Hurry Chundun—Nilgiree ..	23,400-0-0
Janardan Bhunj—Keonjur	12,000-0-0
Modoosoodum Narinder Mohapater, Zemindar of Chedra	8,892-13-0

The rate of exchange per Arcot rupee in the case of Keonjur and Nilgiree being at 4-Kh. and of Chedra being at 3-Kh. 14 p.

Col. George Harcourt was appointed to be the Commissioner for the settlement of the Provinces, and J. Melvill, Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack in 1803. They formed the Board of Commissioners.

In a letter dated the 21st March, 1804, addressed to the Board of Commissioners, J. Hunter, Actg. Collector, Southern Division, Cuttack, advises measures to be taken to prevent the secreting of cowries by merchants who do so to enhance their value and thereby gain profits.

In a letter addressed to R. Ker, Collector of Balasore (Northern Division, Cuttack), under date 10th March, 1805, T. Fortescue, Secretary to the Commissioners, informs him that the Board approves of the abolition of the duty on cowries recommended by him.

A proclamation, dated 10th October, 1804, contains instructions to Collectors for making the settlement of land revenue of the Province of Cuttack from the commencement of the Umlee year 1212. They were to bind the Zamindars and Landholders to pay their revenue in rupees, failing that in cowries, the rate of exchange being 4 khwans and 2 pans for one Calcutta Sicca rupee (see Collr.'s Vol. 413 ; Commissioners' Vols. I & III ; letter to Charles Graeme, Collector of Jugunnath, under date 10th November, 1804). The rate of exchange for Arcot rupees was also fixed at Rs. 107—8 Arcot rupees = 100 Calcutta Sicca rupees.

T. Fortescue, Secretary to Commissioners, sent (8th November, 1804) to R. Ker, Collector, Balasore, a copy of Chief Secretary J. Lumsden's letter to Col. Harcourt on the subject of receiving subscription to loan advertised in the Calcutta Gazette of 25th October in Arcot rupees at this rate of exchange. In a letter of May 28, 1806, there is mention that engagement for payment of revenue was to be made under section 13, Reg. XII, 1805, and the revenue was to be paid in Calcutta Sicca rupees of the 19 Sun.

In a letter of the 18th November, 1804, C. Graeme is advised to make a payment of 5,000 khwans to the Raja of Puttea on account of rent of certain villages which were said to appertain to him but which were then (1804) in the possession of Government. Similarly he was directed to pay 6,000 khwans of cowries to Unneeroodh Ray, son of Beerkishore Deo, deceased Rajah of Khoordah, which was the annua. sum granted by the Maharattas for the support of his family (1806.)

There was a reluctance to receive payments in rupees. Charles Graeme writes to T. Fortescue (5th February, 1805) that Dolgovinda, the Ruth Purcha, who was given cash of Rs. 285—15 as. 3 g. equivalent to cowries 10,606 ka—15 pans—3 gandas, refused to take the amount in rupees and demanded cowries as cowries had become extremely scarce, and shroffs were unwilling to part with them at rates fixed by Government. The Secretary in a letter, dated 14th April, 1805, instructed him to " compel Tahsildars under his authority to give all the cowries collected by them for the use of the Ruth and the Temple of Jugunnath to Dolgovind for the preparation of Ruth." Charles Graeme reports in a letter, dated 18th May, 1805, that in the mofussil rents were collected in cowries which were paid to merchants for assignment on their houses at Cuttack at 4 gandas for kahun.

There was some difficulty in procuring cowries. Government was anxious to introduce rupees and pice, and we have already seen that the Zamindars and Landholders were directed to pay their revenue in rupees, but when it was not possible, in cowries. The shroffs disposed of cowries at the rate of 3 kh. 4 pans per rupee, therefore " Ryots and Landholders would rather sell cowries to shroffs than allow Government to have them at 4 kh. 2 p.". (Letter, dated 11th April, 1805).

In a letter, dated 7th May, 1805, the Secretary to the Commissioners sent to all the Collectors a circular order regarding the currency of Mursheedabad 19

Sun sicca rupees in the Province of Cuttack and informed them that the Bengal Regulations would be applicable.

James Hunter, Collector of Pilgrim Tax, wrote a letter, dated 26th April, 1806, to the President and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William, saying that at Jugunnath the Government Nirukh for cowries was 4 kahun for sicca rupee, but it was difficult to procure cowries even at 3 kh. 8 p. for rupee at that place. He applied to the Collector of Cuttack for ordering his Tehsildar to send cowries worth Rs. 1,000 for payment to carpenters but the latter declined to furnish cowries.

Major Fletcher reported (17th—20th November, 1805) that the general currency in the Khoordah district was cowries or shells. When Fletcher proposed to send Fanams to George Webb, the Collector of Cuttack, in payment of public revenue, the latter told him that he could never receive, nor give receipt for them, as they were not legal currency.

The introduction of sicca rupees caused dissatisfaction. The following letter is interesting :—

" Gentlemen,

By a letter from the Chief Secretary to Government under date the 29th of October, 1804, the Arcot Rupee was ordered to be received at the exchange of 107 Arcot Rupees and eight annas for one Hundred Calcutta Rupees. The rate is now well established, but on proceeding to accoont by the Table or Rates contained in section 14 Regulation 35, 1793, I am exceedingly apprehensive that a very serious dissatisfaction will arise among the cultivators.

" . . . I expect this to be the cause of many leaving the Province.

" The dissatisfaction of the military at receiving seven kind of Rupees all different in number and value has been represented to me as very great.

" Therefore, I beg leave to recommend that no alteration be made in the rate of receipt of the Arcot Rupee till the Sicca Rupee in sufficient quantity be introduced or at least till the expiration of the year 1215 umlee.

Zillah Cuttack.

Revenue Department. I have, etc..................

The 30th June, 1806. Geo. WEBB,

Collr."

On the other hand many coins of sorts were current, the rate of exchange of which was indeterminate. In a letter, dated 22nd October, 1804, J. Hunter writes from Pimplee (Pipli) to the Secretary to the Commissioners asking for instructions regarding the rate of exchange at which he would " receive rupees coming under the denomination of Nagpooree, Teepooshahee, and those coined at Muchhooa Bunarus (*sic*), as they are not included in the denomination of Dusmasha whose value was formerly fixed at 3 kahun 14 pan for Rupee." In the Balasore District Nagpooree and Chitterpooree coins were current (*vide* letter, dated 27th August, 1805.)

From a statement of collections on account of Pergana Puttauspore as per monthly Treasury Acct. from October 1803 to May 1805, we find the following :—

Purgunnah. 1	Total realisation Rupees of sorts. 2	Sicca Rupees. 3	Sonaut Rupees. 4	French Rupees. 5	Gursaul Rupees. 6	Noera Rupees. 7	Deduct batta as per Jama Wasil Bakee. 8	Net amount of Sicca rupees. 9
Puttauspore	17,868-0-0	1,196-0-0	..	..	150	16,522	1,506-9-9	16,361-6-11
Commarda Chaur.	6,395-13-10	3,143-13-10	240	281	76	2,718	247	6,148-13-10

Mr. Webb wrote to William Egerton, Accountant to the Board of Revenue (on June 26, 1806), requesting the favour of his procuring for him directions at what rate he was to receive the Kuttuckey rupees as they were not included in the list of rates of Regulation 35 of 1793.

From a correspondence with H. Stone, Sub-treasurer (1807), we find mention of different kinds of coins : *viz.*, old Zahazee Arcot, French Arcot, Cuttackey, Soorty, Frossey, Dasmasee (Dusmasa Rupees 4,822-5-12 making Sicca rupees 4,485-10-0) and Muchlybundy rupees.

The following circular letter was received by R. Mitford, the Actg. Collector of Cuttack, in July, 1810, from the Board of Revenue for his guidance in receiving 19 Sun Sicca coins in his treasury :

" Extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council in the Public Department under date the 20th June, 1810.

Accountant General's letter, dated 16th June 1810.

* * * * * * *

Para. 6.—With a view therefore to obviating the abuses which may be practised under the present mode of receiving coins at public Treasuries I would beg leave to recommend that the Rupees received at the public Treasuries shall not only be examined in the manner directed by the orders of Government of the 19th September, 1805, but that it shall also be the duty of the proper officers to examine the Rupees separately, and to reject all those which are more deficient in weight than in the proportion of six annas per cent., and that the remainder be then weighed by fifties according to the present rule."

The Collector of Cuttack reported to the Board of Revenue (20th September, 1810) that Sicca rupees were by no means in sufficient currency and circulation and he suggested a plan to remedy the difficulty—" that in all future despatch of Treasure to the General Treasury he may be empowered to offer to the respectable merchants and landholders the sicca rupees for Hoondeans payable to that Treasury thereby prohibiting the return of sicca to the Presidency or exportation from the Zillah ". As the landholders experienced difficulty in procuring sicca coins it was found advisable to extend the period for the receipt of rupees of sorts for another year ; accordingly, under sec. 9, Reg. 4, 1807, the Collector was authorised to issue a publication notifying that rupees of sorts would be received at the treasury till the expiration of the current year 1218.

Cowries began to fall in price. An account of the progressive fall in prices and its disastrous effect on Zamindars and ryots is contained in a letter addressed by W. Trower, Collector of Cuttack, to W. Egerton, Acct. General, under date 1st December, 1812, extracts from which are given below :—

" Para. 3rd.—The fall in the price of cowries has been progressive. At the time of the promulgation of Regulation 12, 1805, by Sect. 13 of which the receipt of cowries in payment of revenue was restricted to a certain period they bore a higher price than what was the Government rate of exchange being K. 3. P. 14. G. 10. for the rupee ...... the fact is that cowries had never been in sufficient quantities to admit of the Revenues being paid in them.

4th—Mr. Fauquier did not allow a certain Zamindar to pay his Revenues in cowries as his object was to create delay as he had no sufficient cowries to pay up ¼ of the balance amounting to Rs. 1,100.

5th—Rate of Exchange—

1214 umlee	..	..	..	..	3 14 10.
1215	..	..	..	..	4 0 10.
1216	..	..	..	..	4 6 0.

Mr. Fauquier stated to the Commissioner—' that the quantity of specie brought in this district in the year 1214 and two years antecedent had diminished its value,'—that might have accounted for cowries keeping their price as long as they were received in payment of Revenue, but as soon as it was known that after a certain period they would not be received in payment at the Collector's Treasury the rupee became from that moment of greater value than it had ever before been, and the cowrie fell in proportion—but as there still remained a certain period for the receipt of cowries at the Treasury and as an idea prevailed that perhaps even when that period elapsed a longer time might be granted, the Shroffs immediately took advantage of the fall in the value of the cowrie and purchased them up at the rate of 5 and 6 kahuns the rupee and buried them in their houses thereby to make (profit ?) largely by their purchase. They were, however, disappointed in their expectations and many of them failed and were obliged to quit the District, and their hordes of cowries were thrown open to the market, thus affording a second cause for their Depreciation, by the unexpected quantities exposed for sale, and this is probably the only time that the cowries could have been purchased in any quantity.

6th—Rate of exchange for the last 3 years has been nearly as follows :—

1217—5-0-0
1218—5-12-0
1219—6-8 & even 7 kahuns.

Notwithstanding this fall, the Zamindars could not, if option were given them, pay their revenues in cowries—' and I am given to understand that it was never formerly the case, that in the time of the Marhattas tho ' the accounts were kept in cowries that the revenue was paid in the rupees—tho' no doubt at that time there was a much greater demand for cowries as the Marhatta troops were paid in that currency.'

7th— .... ' The Zamindars in this District are generally poor and needy and yet inclined to be extravagant, and when their kists fall due they are under the necessity of applying to the shroffs for advances. This advance is readily granted provided the shroffs are allowed to make their own terms—which are exorbitant. For instance, in advancing ten rupees to a Zamindar they will enter

him in their books Dr. for 70 Cawuns of Cowries, but they will only receive back the rupees, at the Government rate of Exchange 4k. 2p. The Zamindars to enable them to bear their loss are obliged to pursue a similar line of conduct with their undertenants and the consequence is the frequent desertions of the District that take place from people being ruined—Thus it may in fact be that the cause in the Depreciation in the value of cowries arises from the Arbitrary Demands of the Shroffs from the Zamindars who are obliged to force their undertenants to pay them the cowries at the same rate for the rupee and there appears to me no other method of affording relief to this distressed class of people than in endeavouring to supersede altogether the currency of Cowries, by the introduction of copper pice, which might be easily, I conceive, effected by the following means..........".

The rapacity of the shroffs alluded to in the extract quoted above appears from another letter, dated 12th July, 1813 (No. 160, para. 5)—" It is customary in these districts for the shroffs and the monied men, who are few in number, to advance the Zamindars for their current expenditure, at such times as they observe the several crops of the seasons to be in state of forwardness and even then the money is advanced at a most exorbitant rate, for 80 rupees advanced a bond for 100 rupees is granted bearing interest at 12 per cent.....Ruin overtakes the Zamindars when crop fails as it did last year ".

It may be of interest to note here that E. Watson, Fourth Judge, Calcutta Court of Circuit, giving in his report, dated 3rd May, 1817, an account of the causes of discontent that led to the disturbance of 1817, commonly known as the Khurdah rebellion, says that though the main cause of the disturbance was the treatment accorded to the Khurdah Raja, yet the heavy loss to which the Zamindars were subject from the depreciation of the price of cowries was one of its causes.

J. W. Sherer, Acct. General, in his report, dated 18th July, 1817, to H. Mackenzie, Secretary to Government, Territorial Department, while commenting on the depreciation of cowries observes (para. 42) : " The truth appears to be that the existence of cowrie currency no longer receivable in payment of revenue has been made the occasion of exaction and oppression ".

The Acct. General sent the following letter to Mr. Trower (No. 200, dated 8th February, 1813) :—" Having submitted your letter dated 1|2 last to the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Mint Master has been directed to remit to you the sum of Sicca Rupees Thirty Thousand in Copper money to enable you to disburse the same in the purchase of cowries for the Temple in the manner suggested in the 8th para. of your letter and also in payment of Poolbundy advances or such other disbursements as may appear to you to be best calculated for checking the depreciation on cowries.—Please report the effect which such remittance may have in attaining the object proposed in order that further remittances in pice may be made.....".

From a letter (dated 17th July, 1815) of A. J. Colvin, Joint Magistrate at Balasore and Assistant Collector of Government Customs, it appears that cowries had become extremely scarce now, there being 15 cowries in cash balance of Rs. 3,552|7|15 (on 2nd June, 1815) in the Treasury of the Custom Department.

The following kinds of coins were current in the district as it appears from an account of short weight coins despatched by Mr. A. Stirling, Actg.

Collector of Cuttack (on 29th December, 1820), to the Mint Master for re-coinage—(Besides wholes, halves and quarters of Siccas)—Arcot, French Arcot, Cuttack, Gurnally (?), Surat, Naugpore rupees.

H. Shakespeare, Actg. Superintendent of Police in the Lower Province, in a letter, dated the 5th April, 1821, writes to the Magistrate of Balasore describing the process of drilling and debasing silver coin resorted to by criminals.

In a letter, dated 28th April, 1823, the Acct. General informed W. Dent, Dy. Collector of Balasore, that Captn. E. R. Broughton (Supdt. of Jaggernath New Road) was directed to forward to him 74,000 kahans of cowries of which he was requested to take charge and to deliver to I. A. Schultz, Superintendent of the Chooramun Canal. As the cowries were broken he declined to take charge ; ultimately he received into the treasury 39,204 kahans and 5 pans.

In a letter, dated 27th December, 1823, addressed to A. Stirling, Actg. Deputy Collector, Balasore, we find mention of a statement prepared of selected cowries by Juggomohan Singh, Mohurer of his office, amounting to Rs. 41,856-4-0, which were safely brought under a military escort.

Regarding orders issued from the Acct. General's office on the subject of receiving light, chipped or otherwise debased rupees, H. Ricketts, Collector of Balasore, writes to G. Stockwell, Commissioner of Revenue, 19th Dn., Cuttack, under date 2nd Sep., 1831 :— .... Para. 4.—"By the recent order all old rupees more than 6 annas per cent. below the standard and all new rupees 1a. 8 p. below the standard are to be received by weight only as bullion ; and Re. 1 per cent. is also to be demanded, so that supposing a Zamindar presents 1,000 rupees less in weight than 1,000 standard rupees by 10 sicca weight, 20 sicca rupees will be demanded from him 10 to cover the deficiency in weight and 10 the percentage on 1,000 light rupees at 1 per cent." He recommends postponement on account of the hardship—Money was scare in Balasore and he gave reasons for it.

Although cowries had greatly depreciated in price, still they were in demand in 1833. H. Ricketts, the Collector of Balasore, while giving a graphic description of the terrible misery and loss of life sustained by mahals on the sea coast from the hurricane of the 31st October, 1831, and irruption of the sea to R. Hunter, Commissioner, under date 5th January, 1833, alludes to the scarcity of money and the demand for cowries :

Para. 8.—"The great scarcity of money I regard as the chief cause of distress which universally prevails and which existed before the hurricane happened. The existence of that scarcity is proved by the difficulty with which the revenue is realised, the low price of every article of commerce and the ruinous interest demanded on a loan of money even when the ultimate recovery is certain. In 1806 cowries in which the revenue had previously been paid were committed (commuted ?) for rupees at the exchange of 4 kawuns of cowrie for a rupee. At the present time the exchange price is 8 and sometimes 9 kawuns per rupee. The value of cowries has certainly depreciated, but the demand for them still exists, as the annual imports show, and I believe the difference to be as much occasioned by the enhanced value of rupee as the lessened value of cowrie."

Para. 9.—"Twenty four per cent. is the interest commonly demanded and paid when the substance of the borrower is unquestionable, and in addition to that interest from persons whose resources are doubtful, a deposit of property is demanded".

To J. Doyly, Collector of Balasore, was sent an extract of letter of the Deputy Secretary to Government of the Territorial and Financial Department, under date 19th May, 1829, to the effect that "the Governor-General in Council has resolved that from the present date all Deputation allowances are to be fixed and passed in Sonat rupees ; that is where the Deputation allowance has (been) heretofore granted in sicca rupees it will henceforth be authorised at the same number of Sonat rupees."

J. Doria, Accountant, Rev. Dept., Fort William, Calcutta, wrote a letter, dated 25th January, 1836, directing the Collector of Balasore to form all future settlements of the land revenue in Company's rupees, annas and paees instead of in sicca rupees, annas, gandas and kowries or sicca rupees, annas and paees as heretofore.

A notice was issued from the Financial Department on the 10th February, 1836, that from and after the 1st May, 1836, all Government accounts would be kept in Company's rupees. The same arrangement would take effect from and after the same date (1st May, 1836) at the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, (*i.e.*, in pursuance of Act No. XVII of 1835). According to section 4 of the Act Company's Rupees were to be received as equivalent to Bombay and Madras rupees which were hitherto equivalent to 94-13-3 and 93-1-8 sicca rupees respectively for every hundred rupees.

In a letter, dated 29th April, 1836, the Accountant, Rev. Dept., Fort William, writes to the Collector of Balasore—"You are quite right in having sicca rupees 20 as equal to Company's rupees 21-5-4 on account of the Commissioner's subscription to the Civil Fund, the deduction made by the Civil Auditor in Company's rupees being at the rate of 6-10-8 per cent.".

According to Government Notice in Financial Department (dated 23rd March, 1836) Sicca rupees were declared not to be a legal tender from the 1st January, 1838, but were to be taken at all Government Treasuries as bullion liable to a seignorage duty of 1 per cent.

"*Para.* 2.—The Sicca Rupees heretofore in circulation in the Bengal Presidency are as you will perceive by reference to the Regulation below cited :

First.—The 19 Sun Old Standard Moorshidabad Sicca Rupee of Regn. XXXV of 1793 weighing 179 2|3 grains.

Secondly.—The new standard Sicca Rupee of Regn. XIV of 1818 weighing 191, 916 grains, and

Thirdly.—The new standard Sicca rupee of Regn. VII of 1833 weighing 192 grains.

These rupees must from the 1st proximo, in accordance with provisions of the act above cited, be taken when tendered in payment of Government demands by weights of their own standards respectively—1 per cent. sicca for every 100 sicca weight of Rupees of such standard as may be paid to you being demanded over and above, and separately credited as seignorage duty in your Treasury Accts. under the head of Mint Master of the Presidency after conversion into Co.'s Rupees at the intrinsic rate of 6-10-8 per cent.".

The introduction of the new coinage in Company's rupees and making the Sicca rupee not legal tender occasioned difficulty to the ryots as Edward

Repton, Collector, Balasore, reports in his letter, dated 12th August, 1838, to H. Ricketts, Commissioner, for at that time "the currency of the Balasore district averages less than one half of Company's coin."

By a circular of the Rev. Dept., dated 31st December, 1838, the Collector was asked "to discontinue the receipt at your Treasury of Pyce of Reg. X of 1809, description—size 19|20ths of an inch ; weight 8 anna, 9 pie sicca or 98¼ gr. and bearing inscription in Persian and Nagree only".

A circular was issued by Government (dated 10th February 1843) on the subject of enforcing the general circulation of Government pice, requesting the Collectors to consult the principal shroffs regarding the quantity of pice in circulation both of Government and native coinage, and if the latter would fall into disuse if plentiful Government pice were supplied, and what would be the necessary supply requisite for general circulation.

The circular of the Finance Department, dated 31st January, 1845, gives a brief history of the copper currency :

"*Para. 3.*—Independent of the copper coinage issued under the provisions of Acts XXI of 1835 and XXII of 1844 the copper coins which have legal circulation in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa are the copper pyce struck at the Calcutta Mint in conformity with Reg. XXV of 1817 weighing 100 grains troy each and the half anna piece and pie piece weighing respectively 200 grains and 33.333 grains troy coined under Reg. III of 1831".

Besides these coins struck in conformity with the Regulations quoted there were others previously issued from the Calcutta Mint, which though not legalised by special enactment, the Government is nevertheless undoubtedly bound to recognise.

These may be briefly stated as follows :—From May, 1796, down to the years 1808|09 single pyce were issued each weighing 12 annas or 134¾ gr. and half-pyce, each weighing 6 annas or 67⅜ gr., the former at 64 and the latter at 128 to one rupee.

In October 1808 the weight of the single pice was reduced 9 annas or 10, 106 gr. and on August 1817 to 100 gr. by Reg. XXV of 1817. No half pyce of this description was issued.

In 1808|9 Behar single pyce each weighing 101 grains were coined to circulate at 64 to the rupee.

Moreover, from December 1807, down to the passing of Reg. X of 1809, there was a coinage of Benares double pyce each of 197½ gr., single pyce, each of 98¼ gr. and half pyce each of 49⅛ gr. which though struck for and remitted to Benares, can hardly be held to come within the provisions of Reg. X of 1809.

Para. 7.—By Act XIII of 1836 all pyce struck at the Mints of Benares and Furruckabad, under the provisions of Regulations X of 1809, VII of 1814, and XXI of 1816, are to be legal tenders in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and by Act XIII of 1844 Trisoolee pyce were declared altogether illegal and withdrawn from circulation.

Old pyce were sent to the Mint Master for recoinage. (21st November 1845.)

Another Letter of Maharaja Abhaisinghji of Marwar.

(By Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu Sahityacharya.)

(Translator's introduction.)

At the time when the campaign mentioned in this letter started, Emperor Mohammad Shah was ruling in Delhi, but the Maharatta intruders were gaining ground in Gujrat and the power of Sarbuland Khan or Mubarizul-Mulk, the Imperial Governor of Gujrat, was reduced to such an extent that not only he was obliged to pay a tribute called Chauth (fourth part) to them but also the districts of Baroda, Dabhoi, Jambusar, etc., yielding a revenue of about rupees 30 lacs, were annexed by them.

We learn from a letter of Maharaja Abhaisinghji, dated 12th day of the bright half of Kartik, Vikram Samvat 1787 (10th November 1730 A.D.), that out of the districts of Gujrat, 28 were held by Pilu and remittance of their income to the Imperial Governor depended only on the sweet will of the former. Pavagadh was under Chinnaji and Champaner under Kantheji. Apart from all this, the Maharattas also levied several other taxes called Deshmukhi, Peshkashi, Durobast, etc., in the province.

When such conditions were prevailing the Emperor Mohammad Shah sought the help of Maharaja Abhaisinghji of Marwar and appointed him the Imperial Governor of Gujrat.

The letter of 12th day of the bright half of Kartik, referred to above, states that at the time of the appointment of the Maharaja as Governor of Gujrat, the Emperor gave him 15 lacs cash, 40 guns, 200 maunds of gunpowder and 100 maunds of lead.

After this appointment Maharaja Abhaisinghji returned to Marwar, raised an efficient army, mostly of Rathore Rajputs, took his younger brother Raja Dhiraj Bhakhatsinghji along with him and marched towards Ahmedabad *via* Jalore, Palanpur and Siddhpur.

How the Maharaja encountered the enemy and in what way Sarbuland (Mubarizul Mulk) was compelled to submit will be known from the following English translation of the original letter of the Maharaja, dated 2nd day of the dark half of Kartik, Vikrama Samvat 1787 (16th October 1730 A.D.).

(TRANSLATION.)

Top lines in Maharaja's own handwriting.

That by the grace of God a great victory has been gained. For this you should feel happy and convey the information to the Nawab (Shamsamuddaula) and tell him that we have left no stone unturned in serving the Emperor, but now is the turn of the Emperor and the Nawab to appreciate our efforts.

If there is some fresh event it will be communicated. It is our command.

Seal

By the grace of almighty goddess Hingulaj, glory be to sovereign ruler, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhaisingh Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiva, Sun and Vinayak—may these five gods always bestow favours.

Approval in Maharaja's own calligraphy.

It is our command.

Letter.

By command of the illustrious king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Abhaisinghji Deva, fortunate Bhandari Amarsingh should note his favours. Ere this every event has been communicated to you one after the other, which you might have noted. On reaching the village Adalech we sent word to the Miyan (Sarbuland Khan), but owing to his misfortune and pride he could not comprehend it and collecting a number of men prepared himself to give battle. Under these circumstances on the 5th day of the bright half of Asoj (5th October 1730) we left the place and encamped on the bank of the Sabarmati river, at the village Hansol about 3 miles east of the city. Seeing us encamped on the bank of the river Miyan (Sarbuland) got frightened, left the place, took shelter of the walls and rivulets and posting his guns at the strategic points encamped at Shahi garden and Mohammad Amin Khan's garden. Finding no satisfactory stronghold there we marched on the 7th day of the bright half of Asoj (7th October) towards the west of the city and encamped on the river at Fatehpur in front of the Bhadar Fort, occupied all the strategic points on the hamlets near the river. Soon the artillery of the enemy commenced firing from the Bhadar Fort and the city walls, but owing to the volley of our guns the besieged enemy could not raise his head to find out our position. On seeing this the Arakanis of Khanpur marched back from the garden of Mohammad Amin Khan to help the besieged garrison. For three days both sides continued fighting from their strongholds, but the Miyan's family, who were in the Bhadar Fort, were forced by the shells of our guns to leave the place and take shelter in the house of Rustam Khan. When the Miyan realised that the fall of Bhadar was imminent and the city was to pass in the hands of the opponents, he on the 10th day of the bright half of Asoj (10th October) came out with all his army of 8 thousand horse and 10 thousand foot and attacked us. But there were enough men to answer him. In the battle which ensued 500 men of the Miyan were laid low while on our side 15 or 20 men lost their lives and a number wounded.

When we received this information we and Rajadhiraj (Bhakhatsinghji) led our army against the Miyan. On this the Miyan posted his guns to the fore-front and himself took shelter behind the hamlets. When the guns of the enemy began to cause havoc, we, after holding consultation with all our nobles, and dividing the cavalry in three divisions, attacked the enemy, and leaving behind the line of his artillery fought a hand to hand battle with the Miyan's men. This fierce battle lasted for about one and a half hour, in which the Miyan was forced to quit the field and fleeing away for 3 miles entered Kasimpur and took shelter in the houses there. But we too followed him on his heels and besieged the town. There again he took shelter in a mosque and put up a defence for about 50 minutes. But as nearly all his army was annihilated while fleeing and only about 80 horses remained with him, who too were wounded, he considered himself unsafe and again took to flight from the place, crossed the river and re-entered his former camp.

Soon Shekh Alayar Khan led a contingent from the city to render help, but was killed in this action. At the very moment it was evening and we returned to our camp. The horses of the Miyan's cavalry, whose riders were killed, were brought to our camp along with the artillery which he took with him to fight us. In all one thousand or twelve-hundred of his men, including

persons of position, were killed and seven to eight hundred wounded. By the grace of God and good luck of the Emperor a great victory was achieved and every thing set right.

Our own charger received three swords-thrusts and two arrow-wounds. The arrows flew past touching him, but by good luck left no fatal effect. In our army though the number of killed was small, yet those of wounded was fairly large.

By the grace of God every one has been favoured with luck. You should make rejoicings and acquaint the Nawab with every happening. He might have also received our letters sent direct.

A shell hit Rajadhiraj but by the grace of God could do little harm. He also received three slight wounds from arrows which could penetrate his armour. Some more arrows hit his helmet and armour but could not penetrate them. His charger also received three swords-thrusts and six-arrow wounds, but by the grace of God he was saved.

You wrote that by fighting and punishing the Miyan the Emperor will be pleased and will grant our desired object. Therefore according to his commands we have punished the disloyal governor and now everything else depends on the Emperor.

After we reached our camp, we received terms of surrender from the Miyan through Gusain Bitthal Rayaji, but paid no heed to them. Now he has sent these terms to all the Imperial Officers as well as to our big nobles for which we will send a reply later on.

Next day we again marched after making necessary arrangements but the Miyan dare not come out of his camp and remained there hidden. Courage has deserted him now.

Convey all this information to the Nawab. A list of men killed on our side has also been despatched which you should bring to his notice. Submit all this information to the Emperor after translation and inform the Nawab that in fulfilling the task we have left no stone unturned and now every thing else is left to him.

Dated 2nd day of the dark half of Kartik, Vikramsamvat 1787 (16th October 1730 A.D.).

Camp Fatehpur,
Suburb of Ahmedabad.

Hyder Ali's relations with the British (1775—1780).

(*Based on the records in the Imperial Record Department.*)

(By Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.)

In 1775, Hyder informed the ambassadors of Muhammad Ali that as their master did not wish for friendship it was Hyder's business to be upon his guard and take measures on his part[1]. After this, every year Muhammad Ali would report the progress of Hyder's preparations and the certainty of his invasion.

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1 Secret Progs. 23 Oct. 1775 : The Verbal Narration of Aly Nawaz Khan.

But his predictions came to be treated with ridicule, the Madras people regarding these repeated warnings as merely false alarms. The only consequence of all this was that the Madras Government affected to disbelieve the news service of Muhammad Ali and remained utterly unprepared.

But Hyder was true to his word and made no secret of his attitude or of his preparations. Free from the annual Maratha inroads on account of the chaos prevalent in Maharastra, Hyder could now take Ratnagiri and Bellary. It was now apparent to everybody that he would next attempt to take Guti from Murari Rao, Adoni from Basalut Jung and Kurnool from its foujdar. These chieftains were naturally uneasy and were anxious to enter into an alliance with the British. Muhammad Ali argued, " There is no time to be lost for should Hyder get possession of Cudappa and subject the neighbouring sardars, it may then be too late to attempt to stop him[2] ". He thus gave sufficient warning, but in 1776 the Government of Fort St. George would not raise a finger in support of Murari Rao when Hyder was besieging Guti. After a prolonged siege Hyder took it and sent Murari Rao and his family to his state prison. Three years later when mutually recriminatory letters were passing between Hyder and the Madras Governor, the latter wrote—" If I were disposed to complain, you have furnished me with ample grounds in the reduction of Murari Rao who was included in the Treaty of 1769 as our friend and ally and by your proceedings against the Zamindars of Cudappah and Carnoul and with respect to Basalut Jung, against whom I also hear you have some designs[3] ". Perhaps conscious of this impolicy of having allowed Hyder to overpower Murari Rao, the Government of Fort St. George showed the greatest zeal in supporting Basalut Jung thereby alienating the Nizam. They thus sought to make up for a sin of omission by a sin of commission. But chronologically the episode of Basalut Jung comes later.

The civil war raging among the Marathas had enabled Hyder to crush Murari Rao. He tried to fish in the troubled waters by siding with Raghoba against the ministerial party and his plan was to occupy the Maratha territory between the Kistnah and the Tungabhadra. He was engaged in 1777 in fighting with Hari Pant, the general of the ministerial party. So long as this Maratha preoccupation lasted and it lasted up to the end of May 1778, Hyder would not have the opportunity even if he had the inclination to face the British at the same time. An identity of interest existed to some extent as both Hyder Ali and the British supported Raghunath Rao against the ministerial party. This was undoubtedly an opportunity to bind him closely as an ally. But the aspect of affairs was altogether very unfavourable and this requires some explanation. The President and Council of Fort St. George wrote " Hyder has long solicited and even importuned this Government to enter into a close union with him but the consideration of temporary inconvenience arising from the terms of such an union, which could only be founded upon engagements of mutual assistance and support, has hitherto obstructed the measure and Hyder has been consequently left in difficulty and distress to seek aid of foreign nations particularly the French. The reluctance on our part to accept the repeated offers made by Hyder at a time when our assistance might have been useful to him, will no doubt render it more difficult to obtain assistance or at least of a neutral conduct on his part[4] ".

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2 Translation of a letter from Nabob to Governor Wynch, 4 Dec. 1775.

3 Secret Proceedings—13th May 1779.

4 Secret Proceedings—10th Aug. 1778.

The President and Council of Bombay proposed in a letter, dated 9th May 1778, to appoint a Resident at the court of Hyder Ali to penetrate and counteract French and Dutch designs. The French and the Dutch maintained Residents at the court of Hyder Ali. But even in this matter there was some difficulty as it was necessary to bring Muhammad Ali to consent to it. In a letter written from Bengal to Madras, we read, " we request you will use your endeavour to convince him of the appointment, to obviate any jealousy it might create ". " The Madras Government naturally argued that considering the situation of Hyder with respect to the Carnatic and the Company's possessions on the coast to send an intelligent person from the Madras Presidency to reside at Hyder's court than from Bombay[5]."

But now the British and the French found themselves at war and this introduced a complicating factor in Anglo-Mysore relations. Had not the British commenced this war with so great a superiority by occupying Pondicherry in October, 1778, Hyder who was so strongly in the interests of the French might have taken a more decisive attitude from the beginning. To keep Hyder neutral amidst so many enemies opposed to the British, it was necessary to preserve the superiority of British arms and to be thoroughly prepared for any contingency. But the disastrous retreat of Tulegaon and the convention of Wargaon showed such a glaring weakness on the western front that Hyder's attitude stiffened and more so because he fully knew how unprepared the Madras Government was. The Government of Madras was not altogether unconscious of this aspect of affairs. As early as the beginning of 1777, the President and Council of Fort St. George wrote, " We have resolved on the increase of the number of our battalions by reducing the present establishment of 1,000 men in each to 700, which will enable us to garrison the forts of the Nabob under our charge and to take the field at a short notice with 2 battalions of Europeans, 3 Companies of artillery and 9 battalions of Sepoys. But troops cannot be maintained, military operations cannot be conducted without money and herein we fear we should fail. The very report of a force of 1,500 Europeans and 12,000 black troops assembled with the means of payment in our treasury would command respect from all and would be likely to deter any from attempting to disturb the Carnatic[6] ". But diagnosis is not cure. The same Government reported in February 1779, " It is certain that we are by no means in a condition with respect to resources ever to oppose any powerful attempts either of the French or of Hyder Ali[7] ". Even now Hyder might not have been free to war with the British had not the escape of Raghoba from the custody of Sindhia to General Goddard's camp induced the ministerial party at Poona to change their attitude to Hyder and complete an offensive alliance against the English. These two enemies of the British had to some extent balanced each other because of their mutual animosity. But the diplomatic triumph of the ministerial party created a very difficult situation for the British.

The British expedition to Mahe has been regarded as one of the events that precipitated the second Anglo-Mysore war. Mahe was a French possession through which Hyder received his military supplies. When the British expedition under Braithwaite was sent, Hyder's vakil formally acquainted the President of Madras that his master considered the settlement of Mahe together with all the settlements on the Malabar coast as under his protection. Hyder himself wrote " In my country there are factories belonging to the English, Dutch,

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5 Secret Proceedings—25th June 1778.

6 Secret Proceedings—20th January 1777.

7 Secret Proceedings—18th March 1779.

Portuguese and the French. Besides these there are many merchants here who are considered as my subjects. If any one entertains designs against those traders, I will without doubt take the best and most considerable methods to give them assistance[8]." The British Government could not be expected to acquiesce in this. The question, however, was one of expediency and the Madras Government quite logically argued, " It became a question with us whether it would be safe or prudent to pursue this expedition we had set on foot against Mahe. We saw the additional risk to which it was exposed and the inconvenience of sending such a body of troops at this time out of the Carnatick but we perceived also the particular advantages that would result from the successful execution of our measures. We saw that this was the only opportunity that might offer for removing the disadvantageous impressions which have been occasioned everywhere by the late defeat. That the appearance of diffidence and timidity on this occasion would strengthen and confirm these impressions and probably operate more to our prejudice than any failure that would happen from the prosecution of the enterprise and lastly that the withdrawing of our troops would be inevitably followed by the capture of our settlements at Tellicherry which, though perhaps not important in itself, would in the eyes of the country powers be considered as a victory of no small consequence to the French and perhaps induce those now wavering to declare openly in their favour[9]." Mahe fell on the 19th March 1779, in spite of the fact that Hyder's troops assisted in its defence and his flag had been hoisted on it. But it must be admitted that even if the British had withdrawn in view of the protests of Hyder, that would not have prevented the war, made almost inevitable by other causes unconnected with the French war.

Another incident that is said to have precipitated the second Anglo-Mysore war was the stipulation of the Government of Fort St. George for the unconditional defence of Basalut Jung. Briefly narrated the facts were these. Basalut Jung, a brother of Nizam Ali, was in the enjoyment of his jagir of Adoni, Guntur and other parts. As he was suspected of being very pro-French and the treaty between Nizam Ali and the British entailed Guntur on the East India Company, on the demise of Basalut Jung, the Government of Fort St. George was authorised by the Government of Bengal to take steps to remove the French influence from the Court of Basalut Jung. Though approaches were made to Nizam Ali, no further steps were taken until December 1778, when the President and the Council of Fort St. George, in consequence of overtures made by Basalut Jung, " proposed an agreement for farming the Guntur Sircar during his life and for obtaining the dismission of French troops in his service by supplying their place in the protection of his country by detachments of the Company's forces[10]." But this excessive eagerness to foil the French did not take cognizance of other circumstance relating to Basalut Jung. This loose condition of defending the other possessions of Basalut Jung was what created difficulties. In order to give him assistance for the protection of Adoni and Raichur threatened by Hyder's onward march, the Government of Fort St. George ordered a Company and a half of European artillery, 2 Companies of infantry and 4 battalions of Sepoys. " But the route of this army by the province of Kurpa and Kurnool amounting to at least 200 miles of road distance was across the territories of 2 powers, namely, Hyder and Nizam Ali, and no previous notice

8 Secret Proceedings—18th March 1779. From the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn to the Governor.

9 Secret Proceedings—1st March 1779, pp. 326 & 327.

10 Secret Proceedings—20th March 1780, p. 415.

was given nor permission obtained to pass a military force through these territories. Naturally the Nizam and Hyder Ali appeared extremely jealous of these proceedings and used all their endeavours with Basalut Jung to make him keep the Guntur Sircar in his own hands and stop the march of troops. The Nizam went so far as to propose in strong terms to his brother that his district should be given at rent to Hyder and Hyder with a view to terrifying him invaded his country with a considerable force and threatened the entire conquest of it if he hesitated to break off his agreement with the Company. Basalut Jung submitted to the will of the powerful chiefs and the march was countermanded[11]." But it cannot be denied that this incredible bungling, besides making British opposition too patent to Hyder, served to alienate the Nizam. The reasons are not difficult to find. "The brothers in the despotic Governments of India are all pretenders to the masnad, despotism being only supported by a few of the great military servants of the prince and by their envy and mutual suspicions of each other. There is foundation for jealousy and Basalut Jung being a prince of the governing family, the Nabob will never be easy while British troops remain with him. A proper provision of jagir and personal security may be guaranteed to him. But as long as a party continues with him, it will be difficult either to satisfy the Nabob's pride or remove his suspicions. Hyder is no less jealous of our getting a footing in Adoni, having marked that country as a quarry for the first favourable opportunity[12]." Thus it is apparent that this was the most impolitic step in the whole course of transactions and was undoubtedly largely responsible for stiffening the attitude of Hyder and Nizam Ali.

Hyder recapitulated his grievances against the Government of St. George in the following terms. "Your territories lay contiguous to mine from Dindigul to Cudappa and continual disturbances are raised by you in my country. The Chief of Telicherry gives protection to the Nairs dependent upon me, keeps their families in his factories, assists them with lead, powder, firearms, and commits disorder in my country. When you are thus acting in this unruly manner what treaty subsists between you and me or which of us has violated it[13]."

The Adventurous Life of Dom Antonio Jose de Noronha, Bishop of Halicarnassus and pseudo-nephew of Madam Dupleix (1720—1776).

(By Mons. A. Balasubramaniam Pillai.)

Dom Antonio Jose de Noronha was a strange and notable personality. M. Ismail Gracias, a Portuguese writer, has very rightly described his life in a volume of 95 pages under the title of : O Bispo de Halicarnasso, Dom Antonio Jose de Noronha-memoria historica-Nova Goa-Imprensa Nacional, 1903(1).

His spirit of enterprise is dwelt upon at length by the Portuguese writer on the authority of unpublished documents from the archives of Goa. He is not a stranger to us. His place lies in the marge of the history of French India. Pondicherry was the theatre of his exploits. It is from that town and

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11 Secret Proceedings—20th March 1780, p. 416.

12 Secret Proceedings—14th Feby. 1780, p. 240.

13 Secret Proceedings—8th May 1780, p. 607.

(1) It has been translated from Portuguese into French by M. H. de Closets D'Errey, Head of the Public Library and Curator of the old records.

by a very audacious imposture that he took his flight towards the most extraordinary destiny. Endowed with a marvellous intelligence and will, this Franciscan monk was, by turns, Political Agent of Dupleix, Administrative Agent of Chanda Sahib, Diplomatic Agent of Lally Tolendal, staunch friend and adviser of Hyder Ali and of the Mahrattas, Military Commander and Administrator of the Provinces and also, in a way, a Bishop.

Born in July 1720 in Old Goa, Antonio de Noronha reckoned among his ancestors a lineage of noble and illustrious gentlemen. The Arcos, the Cantahede and the Prado. When he was yet in his teens, he had the misfortune to lose his father and mother. They left him without means to the care of a necessitous aunt who put him in the monastery of St. Francis in Goa.

At a time when nobility was the condition of success, his position as a cleric could have afforded Antonio de Noronha an honourable and brilliant career. But without religious zeal and piety, he was an undisciplined scholar and unedifying seminarist. He was however ordained priest at the age of twenty under the name of Father Anthony of Purification and sent to the missions of his congregation on the Coromandel coast.

His life as a missionary was not more edifying than his life as a seminarist. His biographer relates discreetly that he dilapidated the wealth of the Churches and sold the sacred vases to satisfy the wants of a life of debauchery and pleasure. He lived more frequently at San Thome than in his parish.

At that time the friendly intercourse between San Thome and Pondicherry was very frequent and strengthened not only by a natural sympathy between the two peoples of Latin origin but also by alliances which, at the foundation of Pondicherry, had existed between the Portuguese and French families.

By his policy of good harmony with the Portuguese of India, Dupleix endeavoured to maintain and to tighten that friendly intercourse. To that effect as in many other instances, he had been greatly helped by his wife. Madame Dupleix was of Portuguese origin by her mother's side and consequently very popular at San Thome. The Portuguese claimed her as one of their own and, later, a historian of Goa represented her as a Franco-Portuguese heroine, " Uma heroina Franco-Portuguese no Occidente ".

But in Madame Dupleix the Portuguese blood was a little mixed. It is not a fact that her grandfather Thome Castro came directly from Portugal as is asserted by M. Ismael Gracias. This is a doubtful inference. At San Thome and at Madras several families by the name of Castro as well as those who remained at San Thome after the desertion of that town by the Portuguese, disparaged themselves one after the other from the pure Portuguese immigrants.

At all events, the grandmother of Madame Dupleix, who was her godmother and gave her the name of Jeanne, was an Indo-Portuguese lady. Her mother, Elizabeth Rosa of Castro, the widow of Jacques Albert, was, besides, an unquestionable evidence of the origin of her family. She spoke only Portuguese and could not read or write.

Dupleix was undoubtedly aware of these facts when he married the widow of M. Vincens, but it may be admitted that he who used to give black marks to those of his assistants who contracted Indian marriages was greatly vexed at his wife's origin.

Father Antony of Purification, aware of this state of things, realized that, if he could flatter the vanity of Dupleix by giving a noble ancestry to his wife, he could lay claim to any favour and gain all his ambitions. By a clever device

he grafted on the old parental stock of the Arcos, Castanhede and Prado, the plebeian issue of Thome Castro and presented himself to Madame Dupleix as her nephew. The cheat was evident, but as it flattered to the utmost Madame Dupleix and especially her husband, they admitted the fact with eagerness.

From that day began for Father Antony a new era which he masterfully exploited to his own advantage. Unbounded was his ambition. To begin with, he aimed at the office of Vicar General of the Archbishopric of Mylapore. He was helped by his " uncle ". Dupleix claimed the intervention of the Viceroy of Goa with the Primate of India in favour of his wife's ' nephew '. But Father Antony was leading such a scandalous life that the ecclesiastical authorities could not decently appoint him Vicar General. However he managed to secure the Vicarship of one of the great parishes of San Thome or Mylapore, *viz.*, Luz and the post of Visitor of the Missions of his order on the Coromandel coast.

Over and over again, Father Lucas de Costa Cravo, Vicar General of the bishopric of Mylapore, was compelled to make remonstrances to him about his behaviour and to force him to a greater humbleness and restraint. But such remonstrances were of no avail. Father Antony continued to lead a dissolute life and scandalized all his parishioners. By so doing he incurred the strong animosity of Father Carvo, who, seeing no other way to amend him, prosecuted Father Antony before the Junto of the Missions (Ecclesiastical Court), thus depriving him of his office of Visitor Commissioner.

Shortly afterwards in 1749, Dupleix restored to the British Company the town of Madras according to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. In order to lessen as much as possible the prejudices of that restoration, Dupleix conceived the plan of reinstalling the Portuguese at San Thome. Meanwhile he obtained from his protege Chanda Sahib a firman appointing Father Antony of Purification as Foussdar or Governor of San Thome. This appointment was not secured without difficulty. The Indian Chronicler Ananda Ranga Pillay noted down in his diary (Volume VI, page 178) the negotiations that Madame Dupleix had with Raja Sahib and the difficulties met with by her in obtaining the Governorship of Mylapore for her pseudo-nephew.

No sooner was he invested with the office of Foussdar of San Thome, than Father Antony ordered the arrest of his predecessor and sent him to Pondicherry duly escorted. He recruited a few soldiers and provided the old citadel of San Thome with some guns. He restrained the merchants of Mylapore, under penalty of whipping, from trading with Madras. Thus he unskilfully drew the attention of the British Authorities to the new state of things at San Thome.

The Council of Fort St. David (the Council of Fort St. George was not yet re-established) resented the situation and obtained from Mohamed Ali, the competitor of Chanda Saheb for the Nabobу of Arcot, the grant of Mylapore and of San Thome. The consequence was the arrest of Father Antony of Purification and the hoisting of the British flag on the citadel of San Thome by Admiral Boscawen.

At the instigation of Dupleix, the Viceroy of Goa protested against the act of violence of Admiral Boscawen. To avoid a conflict with Portugal, the authorities in London hastened to release Father Antony.

From London Father Antony de Noronha went to Paris where, by the favour of Dupleix's friends, he obtained from Louis XV the Knighthood of the Order of St. Lazarus and the Mount Carmel and a proposal to Rome for a Bishopric. He intrigued so well that in spite of all the scandals of his sacerdotal

life he was allowed by the Roman Curia the Bishopric of Halicarnassus *in partibus infidelium*. This designation gave rise to the strongest protest from the Court of Portugal, so jealous of its ecclesiastic privileges in India. Consequently the Roman Curia refused to sanction by Papal letters patent the choice of Louis XV.

This could not embarrass Father Antony. In spite of their sternness, the prescriptions of the canonical laws were unheeded by him. He had but the cassock of a Catholic priest which he was occasionally ready to exchange for the puffed robe and jerkin of the dignitaries of the Mogal Court. (He was entitled Nabob Dilavarjanga Xamadar Bahadur.)

Invited by the Court of Portugal to come to Lisbon, the new Bishop hastened to leave France for Pondicherry (1752) rightly conjecturing that his trip to Portugal would have serious consequences for him under the existing circumstances.

Mentioning a conversation which he had on the 24th August 1752 with Antonio de Noronha, Ananda Ranga Pillay writes :—

> " This evening Father Antony, who, though nominated as a Bishop, has not yet been consecrated met me on his way home when I was sitting by the lane near the Manakkulam (presumably the tank attached to the Manakkulam Pilliyar temple)........."

Was he consecrated later on ? No proof has been adduced to that effect ; he had very probably only the title of Bishop without having been authorised to perform the duties of his office.

Dupleix was still at Pondicherry on the return of Antonio de Noronha. It was out of the question to reinstate him as Governor of San Thome. But shortly afterwards on the death of the Bishop of Mylapore, Dupleix wrote to the Viceroy that his protege might be authorized to act in that capacity until his investiture took place. The antecedents of Noronha stood against him and the step taken by Dupleix proved unsuccessful.

His services were availed of by Dupleix in the course of several negotiations with the Mahrattas and particularly with Morari Rao ; also by Lally Tolendal when the latter on being besieged in Pondicherry had had to appeal to the Mysorians and the Mahrattas. The Indian Chronicler dwells at length on the part the Bishop of Halicarnassus took in these negotiations. What cannot be denied to him is his faithfulness to France. He had settled down at Pondicherry and supplied to Lally Tolendal a body of Portuguese troops with their officers. One of the latter Louis Telles de Menzes, Captain Major of San Thome, married Noronha's sister.

After the fall of Pondicherry in 1761 the Bishop of Halicarnassus, now absolutely destitute, returned to Goa. There he managed by his intrigues to win the sympathy of the Viceroy, the Count of Ega, who was pleased to appoint him as Commander of a regiment of sepoys. In that capacity he marched on Ponda in order to avenge the defeat of a first expedition. He was successful and completely routed the enemy who fled in disorder.

In recognition of his services, the Count da Ega appointed him in August 1760 as General of the provinces of Ponda and Zambaulin. The inhabitants of these provinces were at first very sympathetic to him. But as he was unable to conciliate them by a moderate policy, they stood against him and complained to the Viceroy of his vexatious methods and requested his immediate transfer.

The Viceroy granted their request. But Noronha obtained as compensation the grant of two plots of land in Gundain and a pension of 100 Xerafins per mensem.

The triumvirate who succeeded Count da Ega, not satisfied with cutting off Noronha's pension, confiscated also his properties and ordered that an inquiry should be made into his behaviour at Ponda, and in March 1768 he was arrested pending his tránsfer to Lisbon.

There, as always, Fortune smiled on him. He cleared himself before the Royal Court from the imputation of any fault and he won the goodwill of the Secretary of State, the Marquis of Pombal. The latter, in order to improve the splendid dominions which the Portuguese had in India, found that none else than Noronha could be able to bring the task to a successful end. Before proceeding to India, Noronha requested the Marquis of Pombal to obtain from the king that all his properties which had been confiscated should be restored to him. He got satisfaction in that respect.

In January 1775, he was appointed as Commander of the Legion of the Royal Voluntaries (a corps newly created) and as Lieutenant of the Province of Ponda.

Antonio da Noronha did not long enjoy these lucrative as well as honourable offices. On the 7th February 1776 he arrived at Panjim and dined there at the palace of the Governor Jose Pero de Camera. On his return to his country house "Bellevue" at Panjim he was found dead in his carriage. Thus came abruptly to an end, amidst widespread surprise, his earthly career of 56 years.

An unpublished Persian Letter of Mir Qasim.

(By Mr. S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L.)

Some time back I discovered an unpublished Persian letter of Nawab Mir Qasim in a valuable collection of correspondence entitled *Dastur-ul-Imla*[1], which is preserved in an old library at Patna City. This letter has not been as yet included in any of the compilation of contemporary documents, such as the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, *Vansittart's Narrative*, etc., and it certainly escaped the notice of the contemporary Bihar historian, Ghulam Husain, author of *Siyar-ul-mutakharin*. It appears from a comparison of Kalyan Singh's *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* with this letter, that it was probably consulted by him, as he uses certain terms and expressions exactly in the forms as they occur in this letter.

As we find from internal evidence in the letter, it was written by Mir Qasim, the expelled Nawab of Bengal, to the members of the Council in Calcutta, from Oudh long after the death of Mir Jafar, and in the 12th year of his expulsion from Bengal, that is, early in 1776 A.D. Though it contains a rather sketchy narrative of the transactions in Bengal from the Revolution of 1757 till the date of the writing of this letter, yet it is historically important as being a contemporary document regarding the relations among Mir Qasim, Mir Jafar, Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla of Oudh and the English. We get here also some new facts. As for example, it tells us of Mir Jafar's intrigues with the Company, through Ali Ibrahim Khan, Mir Sulaiman, Mirza Abu Mohammad and Niyamat Khan, against Mir Qasim after the latter had been installed as the Nawab ; of an

[1] I have discussed the historical importance of this collection in another article to be published shortly in J. B. O. R. S.

attempt being made by Ali Beg Khan Kharji to poison Mir Qasim while he was in the camp of Shuja-ud-Dowla ; and of Mir Qasim's throwing the blame for the murder of Rajballabh and Ram Narain on Gurgin Khan, but his admission of personal responsibility for the murder of the Jagat Seths, who, according to him, on their failure to satisfy him by an offer of 25 lacs of rupees, tried to engage Mir Raushan Ali Khan through a bribe of Rs. 20 lacs to murder the Nawab and some of whose letters against the Nawab were intercepted by him (this fact is corroborated by the Riyaz-us-salatin). Mir Qasim further observes in this letter that his uncontrollable soldiers, particularly Sumru, were responsible for the massacre of the English prisoners at Patna, that Mir Jafar secretly incited Sumru to perpetrate this horrible deed with a view to create an unbridgeable gulf between the English and Mir Qasim, and that this act had behind it the sanction of a firman of Emperor Shah Alam II.

English translation of "the copy of the letter, addressed by Mir Muhammad Qasim from Oudh to the Council at Calcutta, after his expulsion from the Subhas of Bengal and Bihar". (D. I. 61a—70a.)

"God the Great has made the gentlemen (of the Council) just and of good disposition and endowed them with all the laudable virtues and, therefore, it behoves them to discriminate between truth and falsehood, and act accordingly. As regards my excessively distracted condition, God alone knows how they have represented it to the English Gentlemen, and, therefore, I have no remedy but to disclose it myself.

When the English killed Siraj-ud-Dowla, in retaliation for the destruction of[1] their factory, and installed Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan in his place, the latter, having won their good graces by promising or offering to pay, in cash or kind, three crores of rupees[2], coined at Calcutta, possessed himself of all the wealth and treasures of Siraj-ud-Dowla and also made himself master of the whole country. It happened that Shah Alam invaded those lands. The *Mutasaddis* (clerks or accountants) of Bengal, habituated to misappropriate the things of others, deliberately created confusion, and, throwing the revenues in arrears, they subserved their own selfish purposes. Having kept the said Nawab and also the Christians in the dark as regards the total amount of Siraj-ud-Dowla's wealth, each one of them began to take it for himself like honey and milk. On account of the large increase in the military expenditure and his own extravagance, the said Nawab, who was totally devoid of ability and thrift, took upon himself the responsibility of paying three crores of rupees[3] as arrears due to the army, and forty lakhs as balance of the amount fixed up by the English. The soldiers bore patiently for 3 years but when they saw no other remedy, they all united and assembled before the palace, would not allow the Nawab to take his food and drink for 4 or 5 days, and began to abuse[4] him in unbecoming language.

When the English gentlemen saw the Nawab in such a sorry plight and began to apprehend something still worse, they told me that I should offer my-

1 The capture of Kasimbazar Factory was followed by the plunder of Calcutta on June 20, 1756. M. R. B. 14.

2 The Treaty executed by Mir Jafar gives a different figure, V. N. 19-20. Mir Qasim, in another letter, found in V. N. III, 186, says that Mir Jafar became indebted for about 2 crores to his army, besides the debts owing to the Company.

3 K. T. 85b. It is interesting to find that M. Kalyan Singh, the author of this work and almost a contemporary writer, not only gives the figure of 3 crores and 40 lakhs but supports practically the whole statement of Mir Qasim about the two Revolutions in Bengal in 1757, 1760. See also J. B. O. R. S., 1919-20.

4 V. N. I, 35.

self as a security for the arrears of the money. I had no remedy[5] but to intervene. Having taken out 4 or 5 lakhs of rupees from my own house (pocket) I paid the same to some men of the army, who had taken a leading part in the commotion, and having thus pacified them, caused them to raise the blockade of the Haveli. When the English gentlemen told Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan repeatedly that he should pay off the dues of the soldiers, for, it was at their instance that such and such a person, that is, I, had interfered in the affairs, and taken up the obligation of the Nawab, the latter paid no heed to their words, took the matter lightly and, in fact, ignored it altogether. At last when the soldiers saw that 3 or 4 months had passed by and nothing had been done towards the liquidation of their arrear pay, they inevitably approached me, and took me to the house (palace) of Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan. At the same time, from the other side the English too arrived there. Circumstances forced me to send a message[6] through the English to the Nawab that he should either pay up the dues of the soldiers or should place the rich Mutasaddis under my control so that I might realise the revenues due by means of blows and whips and pay up the salary of the soldiers and other dues. The same kind of questions and answers, replies and rejoinders, went on till 3 or 4 *pahars* of day (afternoon) and then the said Nawab sent one of his confidential servants with the message that he was ready to abandon the kingdom and proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca and that I should do whatever I liked to manage the affairs and pay off the dues of the army and the money owing to the English from whatever source I could think of. Although I was not at all prepared to accept this suggestion, the English gentlemen succeeded by their excessive and earnest requests in throwing this unpleasant burden on my shoulders, and taking Nawab Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan along with them they left for Calcutta.

When the said Nawab saw that during a short time I had secured the tranquillity of my heart by paying off the importunate demands of the soldiers and the dues of the English, and had freed the country of all turbulent elements, his eyes were suddenly opened, especially when he was told about the existing situation and the (changed) state of the revenues of the kingdom. He was again seized with a desire to get back the subadari and (therefore) stirred up a hostility between me and the English. He[7] entered into a firm compact with those who were at Calcutta, and had arrived afresh from England as a result of changes and transfers of the members of the Council, which is a fixed rule among the English. It was thus that he caused a rupture between me and the English gentlemen. From this side Shuja-ud-Dowla[8] had advanced at the

5 It is significant that Mir Qasim makes no mention of his going to Calcutta and intriguing against his father-in-law, a fact found in S. M., R. S., M.N., and T. M. and even in K. T. 89a.

6 According to K. T. 91b, it was at the suggestion of, and not through the English, that such a message was sent.

7 There is nothing unlikely in this statement, for which, however, we do not get any direct evidence. But Vansittart's observation is interesting in this connection. He was told that Col. Coots, Major Carnac, Mr. Amyatt, and Mr. Ellis had written against him to the Company ; that they had sworn together to effect the restoration of Jafar Ali Khan ; and that Mr. Fullerton had been despatched to England, to assist in the same design. V. N. III, 402.

8 This is another entirely new information which lacks corroboration from other sources. There is ample evidence, however, of the ambitious designs of the Nawab-Vazir of Oudh on these rich provinces of Behar and Bengal. His eagerness to fish in the troubled waters of Bengal and Bihar, a legacy from his father, his hatred for Mir Qasim and the ready excuse of regulating the affairs of the frontier regions which adjoined those of Bihar, suggest the probability of the event. Some of the letters in C. P. C. definitely state that he moved as far as Handia and Swajpur but when the news of the English victory at Udaynala reached him, he retired to Allahabad. 1, 256.

head of his army, towards the frontiers of Azimabad at the time Mr. Ellis made his night assault upon the fort (of Patna) when unexpectedly he heard of the defeat of the English and turned back. God and the Prophet know and will bear me out that the English people, without any justification, and against the advice[9] of Sham-sud-Dowla Bahadur (Mr. Vansittart) and Mr. Hastings, commenced the quarrel at the instigation of Mir Mohammad Jafar Khan. Moreover, although I wrote that now that the country had been cleaned of all thorns and rubbish and the dues of the English and the army had been paid off, the said Nawab was welcome[10] to the subadaris and he should come and occupy it, the latter replied that I wanted to poison him to death or destroy him by some other methods. As regards the English they omitted all mention of these things and sent no reply at all. Ultimately they assaulted the fort of Azimabad and remained engaged in ravaging and plundering it and the city of Patna till three *pahars* (in the afternoon)[11].

When the anxiety of the English became unmistakable and public, I was compelled, in defence of my life and honour, and in order to draw out my family and dependents, to write to my Naib at Murshidabad and to other places that the English had unjustly shown hostility towards me and (therefore) they should not allow access and egress to any individual amongst them. I also sent troops to passes and ferries, so that, till I went out beyond the frontiers of Bengal with my children and bag and baggage, they should engage the English in mock fights (jang-i-zargari). As Mr. Amyatt, after permitting[12] the people of Azimabad factory to fight and deliver night assaults, had taken departure from me, it did not occur to me that 10 days[13] after he had set out for Calcutta he was still staying on the way to hear of the news of the victory at Azimabad. Despite this overt hostility he still wished to proceed towards Calcutta by passing through the crowd of my own people. He might have taken the route through Jhellangi[14] but he failed to do so. On account of the orders they have received they did not leave him. The people of Murshidabad also set up a blockade and began to plunder the factory.

When the English heard that their men had been thus defeated they did not ponder over the matter and without remonstrating with me, they suddenly restored and reinstated Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan as the Subadar of Bengal and also fell upon me during the rainy season. I wrote to Major Adams who was coming at the head of the English army that his fellow men were alive[15] and they would be made over to some one whom he might send for the purpose.

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9 V. N. III, 253, 284, 387, 391, etc.

10 The letters of Mir Qasim, available in C. P. C. & V. N., do not support this statement, though frequently, in fits of pique, he was ready to retire in favour of his alleged oppressors. V. N. I, 200.

11 According to Karam Ali the men of Mr. Ellis after capturing the fort became intoxicated and began to plunder the city. M.N, 172a.

12 The author of Seyar, a friend of Mr. Amyatt, practically confirms this. S. M. 725. It is 'the sordid and selfish majority' of the Council which really precipitated the struggle by giving Mr. Ellis a free hand in the matter of assault on the Patna citadel. M. C. I. See also T. M. O. K. T. about Mir Qasim's belief in such an instigation.

13 'Amyatt and his party left Mongher on June 24, provided with a passport granted by the Nawab'. They were murdered on July 3, 1763, at Murshidabad. M.Q. 217-18.

14 Jhellangi is the name of a river which is really a part of river Padma.

15 This is not true though in the letter, which is fortunately available to us (CPC I, p. 239), he disclaimed all responsibility for the killing of Mr. Amyatt, he threatened Major Adams to "cut off the heads of Mr. Ellis and the rest of the English chiefs and send them to him".

The Major replied that it did not matter much whether those men were dead or alive but that I must[16] get out of the kingdom and in case I failed to do so he would not let me off.

When the letter of Major Adams reached me I had no remedy but to lay it before the chiefs of my army and ask them as to what they deemed advisable in the matter. All my Sardars[17], having become despaired of the friendship of the English, replied :—" A battle appears to be inevitable whether you wish it or not, and the fire of hostility has no chance of being extinguished. We, men of Hindustan, are not expert in fighting with fire, guns and cannon. By the grace of God we have made these people captive after risking our lives. You want to show your friendship by liberating them and again you will send us to the mouth of their cannon. What should we live for when there is no hope of peace and restoration of friendship ? " Much as I entreated them they would not listen to my suggestions. In reply they said that one Englishman was equal to one thousand Indians in courage and in the effective use of artillery and that it was difficult to get the better of such men in an engagement and (therefore) they would not allow them to remain alive. Accordingly Sumru, the chief of the Tellingas, killed each one of them.

When the men of my army saw that the fighting with the English had proved a costly one they deemed it prudent to take me to Shuja-ud-Dowla after entering into a solemn agreement with him. But they subsequently struck[18] a bargain with him and involved me into an unfortunate situation, for shortly afterwards Shuja-ud-Dowla became an ally of the English.

I, who had made a world of men hostile to myself by refraining from showing concession or favour to any one, and who never intrigued with any person, actually involved myself in moil and toil, during night and day, and by the grace of God regulated the confused and disturbed affairs of that country within a short time. I had been counting upon the support and friendship of the English gentlemen thinking that they appreciate merit, exercise forethought, and are wisdom personified and (therefore) they would recognise the just claims of their well-wishers. How the affairs were confused and entangled is quite evident from the fact that on one side there was the inexorable demand for the arrear pay of the soldiers amounting to not less than three crores of rupees, and there was also the balance of the money due to the Company. How had the soldiers behaved themselves towards the deceased Nawab, Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan ? If I, the ignorant one, had not taken up the heavy burden on my shoulders, circumstances might have been different. Being forced by necessity, and keeping in view the honour of the parties concerned, and giving way before the request and solicitations of the English, I undertook the task of lifting the veil off (exposing) those in power. Having ruined the whole of my house and taking what happened to be the will of God, I resigned myself to my lot. Now

16 Here again we meet with a wrong statement. The Major wrote " ....You have Mr. Ellis, and many other gentlemen in your power ; if a hair of their heads is hurt, you can have no title to mercy from the English, and you may depend upon the utmost fury of their resentment " (M. N. III, 374).

17 The author of the Siyar, and Mir Qasim's best friend, Ali Ibrahim Khan, were, however, opposed to this highly impolitic step, and the latter actually interceded on behalf of the English prisoners and solicited their release. S. M. 738 Dr. Fullerton was saved because of their influence.

18 This is applicable at least to Sumru who mutinied against his master and took service under Shuja-ud-Dowla. S.M. 755.

that it is twelve years[19] since I left the place of my nativity, which had been the residence of my family for a century, to the English and have chosen the life of a wandering exile, I thought that the English, in whose character equity and justice are inherent, would not deviate from the paths of right nor withhold their appreciation of merits. Being happy and contented with such an idea I am passing the nights and days of my borrowed life in continuous prayer to God and in remembering the friendship of the English and solemnly declare that I have no futile plan[20] nor evil design even in my imagination. Till now, wherever I happen to go, I am continually engaged in repeating the praises of the English while they, on their part, are always after doing harm to me, the resourceless and helpless one. I do venture to hope from the old friendship of the English that they would not ignore the services of this sinner through the representation of malicious and interested agitators and then pondering a little in their pure heart over it they would not shut their eyes to the demands of justice and equity.

Gentlemen, if at the first instance you had not entered into an agreement with regard to the three Mahals of Maidnepur, Burdwan and Chatgaon[21], and kept into your consideration the performance of this sinner, nothing would have been neglected or omitted or even occurred, except what is the way of submission and service. The fact is that truth and straightforwardness are innate to us and I am not familiar with fraud and betrayal. I did not withhold, like Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan, such trifling things as stone, clay, wood[22] and limes nor did I demand back the chaklas of Burdwan. I also did not invite the Dutch through the Bugoss tribe (of Malaya) to fight against the English. On the other hand, I paid off all the arrears of the Company which were due from the Nawab, in accordance with the promises made. Whatever happened on my part was due to my helplessness and powerlessness. The power-seeking soldiery of Hindustan gets out of control at the slightest disturbance, a fact which is evident from the timely information I always gave about it. I hope that all the letters written by me, your friend, may have been preserved, both in originals and their copies, amongst the documents of the Council.

You know that ever since I assumed authority over that kingdom, some English gentlemen commenced quarrel of their own accord and began discussion in such a manner as goes directly against the decorum of friendship. They supported and protected[23] those who had been in the habit of safeguarding and

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19 The letter, addressed by Mir Qasim to Col. Stibbert, in April 1776, also speaks of this period of 12 years (P. I. H. R. C. X.).

20 An idea of such plans and designs may be had from the numerous letters in the C. P. C. and also from two papers, one in P. I. H. R. C. X, and another in Calcutta Review, May 1935. By 1776, however, the *ex*-Nawab of Bengal may have realised the futility of such things.

21 In a letter addressed to the Company, dated April 21, 1763, Mir Qazim writes "exclusive of the ready money, offices, lands and the farm of saltpetre given by the Nabob Mir Jafar Cawn, I assigned three districts, which produced an income of fifty lacs of rupees for the charges of the forces of the Company ; that they might collect the rents as they pleased......and when called upon afford me assistance." V. N. III, 189.

22 Mir Jafar, in a letter to the Board, dated Sept. 14, 1764, called upon the English to abandon the wood farm belonging to Purneah paying a tribute of 50,000 rupees (C. P. C. 337). Mir Qasim says in two of his letters that the English could not get even ten or twenty timbers from Chuttagong to build their houses with 'even so recently as the time of Mir Jafar' (C. P. C. I, 203).

23 Obviously the *ex*-Nawab refers to persons like Raya Ram Narain and others. It is interesting to find Gholam Husain quoting Mr. Amyatt, who confessed that he had no love for the said Raja but supported him because of his opposition to Vansittart and his nominee, Mir Qasim. S. M. 706.

gulping down their throat the whole revenue and income of that kingdom. And such men were subject to my jurisdiction. However, despite these ups and downs and impossible situation I put off the trouble till two years and half, thanks to the equitable disposition of some of the English gentlemen.

If the English gentlemen had set their mind on the absorption of the land, why did they allow so many lives to be lost ? I had repeatedly entreated and written to the gentlemen of that time that if they were resolved upon displacing me, the weak one, instead of giving a bad name to their friend, they were quite welcome to entrust the charge of that kingdom which had been freed from mischiefs and disturbance, into the hands of any one whom they deemed to be more trustworthy. I was also prepared to bring together all the papers of the kingdom which I had set right, and then by making them over to anyone who was suggested for the purpose, I should clean my hands of everything regarding the settlement of friendly accounts. The English gentlemen, however, did not accept my suggestion. Ultimately matters reached their limits, so much so that, on one side, the Naibs and Amils were put in chains and fetters and were struck down, and on the other, they commenced night assault[24] and lifting the veil of unity and concord, they wanted to deal with me, the weak one, openly. Feeling helpless, and being driven by necessity to safeguard my life and honour I gave up the idea of staying in that kingdom and wrote to Major Adams, who had taken the command of the army and arrived so far as Nala Udhva, apologizing and signifying my readiness to transfer the custody of Mr. Ellis and others. The Major replied in a strain which was improper and unworthy of a chief like him, saying that there were many Englishmen in his country and that he cared a jot about my captives whom I might treat as I liked.

As regards the Nawab who had developed a bad feeling towards me because of his anxiety to please the English, he wrote to each one of my chiefs through Ibrahim[25] Ali Khan and Sulaiman[26] inducing and tempting them to devise some means whereby the Englishmen who had been captured should be all put to death so that the path of compromise with the English might be closed. On the other side, Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla had sent a Ferman[27] of King Shah Alam, bearing his auspicious seal, exhorting the writer to kill the English wherever they were found. The copy of the Ferman under the seal of the Qazi (?) is sent herewith. The copies of the letters between me and Major Adams will be found in the records office of the Council and also of those of correspondence exchanged[28] secretly with the deceased Nawab (Mir Jafar) through Sulaiman

24 Mir Qasim in a letter, dated 28 June, 1763, writes "like a night robber Mr. Ellis assaulted the Kila of Patna ; robbed and plundered the Bazar and all the merchants and inhabitants of the city, ravaging and slaying from morning to the third Pahar" U. N. III, 330. Vansittart has the frankness to admit "that we were the aggressors by the assault of the city of Patna will not be disputed". V. N. III, 387.

25 Besides the lack of any corroborative evidence for this charge, the fact is well established that if Mir Qasim had any really sincere and wise friend and counsellor, it was Ali Ibrahim Khan who "clung to his old master with a fidelity uncommon in those treacherous days".

26 This man, the High Steward of Mir Qasim, who escorted his master's family and treasures to Rohtas (K.T.) and who was sent to King and the Wazir to procure their assurance of protection in 1763 (C. P. C. I, 295) ultimately deserted the *ex*-Nawab and joined Shuja-ud-Dowla (S. M. 7, 58).

27 This is a startling statement. It is unfortunate that all trace of such a Ferman, if it existed at all, is lost.

28 We have got proofs of the intrigues carried on against Mir Qasim at the court of the King and Shuja-ud-Dowla by Mr. Ellis and Major Carnac through Raja Shitab Rai and his son Kalyan Singh. V. N. III, 400-01 ; C. P. C. I, 256 ; K. T. gives a detailed account of the secret transaction. See also J. B. O. R. S.

and Shitab Rai. On Gurgin Khan being killed on one of those days, the Command of the Tellingas fell into the hands of Samru. The man, who was false to the salt that he ate, finding himself placed in power, entered into an agreement with the faithless Sulaiman. This perfidious[29] Sulaiman had been in collusion and secret communication with the deceased Nawab and Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowla. The accursed Samru was not such a functionary as not to think that if the good feelings between me and the English were to be restored I (?) would have in my possession so much money and effects and would no longer remain under his influence and, therefore, it was better that the English should be put to death so that he might himself become the owner of the fire guns and artillery.

In short, first the faithless Sulaiman and then Ibrahim Ali Khan became the vanguard in the ruination of my house. Having seduced a whole world of men and made them subject to their wishes, they destroyed everything which belonged to me and having settled their own business they followed their respective paths.

When the reply of Major Adams proved to be absolutely disappointing and I found no other remedy from any quarter I assumed silence. The ungrateful and perfidious Samru, having made the Firman of Shah Alam as his Charter of authority killed the English prisoners in order to create disturbance and disorder, and having instigated and taken me to Shuja-ud-Dowla, he caused the desolation and ruination of my whole house.

It is evident to everybody that I committed no fault in any way and that all these mischiefs and disturbances had been raised by the faithless Sulaiman and Ibrahim Ali Khan. These disloyal men girded up their loins of malice, without any justification, in order to oppress me. What unworthy[30] action they were not guilty of in the camp of Shuja-ud-Dowla ? They were not wanting even in shedding blood. A little of such things is apparent from the fact that one day while I was in the camp of the said Nawab (Shuja-ud-Dowla), poisoned grapes were served before me through Ali Beg[31] Khan Kharji. As the bringer of the grapes had been an old man of my family, he whispered to my ears that they should not be taken. The news of this having reached Ali Beg Khan, the latter killed the poor fellow and hacked him to pieces. It was through the entreaties and solicitations of Khaja Pedros (Petrus) and Gurgin Khan, extending over a year, that the department of the household expenses (house stewardship)[32] had been allotted to that detestable and ungrateful wretch. In fact the two wicked men inveigled and won over all the subordinate officers. Sulaiman carried the money and effects to Rohtas[33] and making Ibrahim Ali Khan his inspiring genius left him near me. There he practically killed the poor Raja Naubat Rai[34] by inducing him to take a medicine, which

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29 His perfidy was discovered when it was too late. But there is no proof of his collusion with Mir Jafar.

30 The *ex*-Nawab certainly met with insults and indignities in the Camp of Shuja-ud-Dowla but at least Ali Ibrahim Khan's behaviour was above suspicion. (S.M.).

31 An officer of the Wazir and a channel of communication between Mir Jafar and the English (C. P. C.). According to Karam Ali Ali Beg Khan Kharji was put in charge of the fort of Allahabad but he surrendered it to Raja Shitab Rai. M. N. 146C.

32 This is new information.

33 K. T., J. B. O. R. S., S. M. 733-734.

34 He was the trusted Diwan of Mir Qasim who also made him Naib of Patna for a short time. It was under his escort and that of Mir Sulaiman that the Nawab had sent his family and treasures to Rohtas (*ibid*).

was a preparation of iron, as a cure for cough and asthma. Thereafter, the Keeper of the Jewel-office was put on a pony with all the documents pertaining to the treasury, and he was thus made to effect his escape. Habibullah Khan, the Cash-keeper, was also poisoned to death by some means. Having kept him confined within the mansion of the store-room and jewel office for a whole day and night, 17 small bags[35] of jewels which were sealed with gum lac were opened with fire being applied to the sealing wax. The choicest jewels were picked out and precious goods and rare articles were taken up, loaded on 3 elephants and taken to Benares, one month before my arrival there. God is my witness that I have not deviated a hairbreadth from truth. You may investigate into the truth in any way you please. Granted that the faithless Sulaiman shows the receipt of Sandal Ali Khan, the eunuch, but even this is a proof positive of his fraud. Why did he make over such costly riches to the eunuch without my permission ?

Ibrahim Ali Khan used to intrigue and keep up correspondence through Mirza Abu Mohammad, son-in-law of Mirza Iraj Khan[36]. Sometimes letters were sent through Mirza Abu Mohammad to Ibrahim Ali Khan[37] and the faithless Sulaiman and sometimes it was done through Mohammad Niamat, the bearer of the pen case, who used to come to my camp in the guise of a fakir. All those devices and plans were hatched for the sake of the son[38] of a dancing girl who had been taken into his (Mir Jafar's) harem without *Nikah* or even Motah[39]. The late Nawab was devoid of all sense of justice and equity, and being lost in the sleep of negligence, he felt no concern with the world and its vicissitudes except as a spectator. If I had possessed in him[40] an elderly appreciative relation. I would not have been reduced to such straits.

The execution of Raj Ballabh[41], Ram Narain and others was due to the advice of Gurgin Khan but that of Jagat Seth and Maharaja Sawrup Chand was at my instance and orders. The reason is that one day they came to me and offered me a note of hand or cheque for 25 lakhs of rupees[42] as a profit of the income of the Mahals or Sarkar by way of present. I tore that note into pieces and said :—" I have nothing to do with it. The only thing I want is that you should live in concord and amity and avoid enkindling the fire of enmity between me and the English, nay extinguish it if it breaks out. The moment I leave these climes they (the English) would not let me alive, so that I may wander from one region to another and they (the Seth) " might enjoy and take

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35 The details are nowhere to be found and appear to be very interesting. The author of the seyar, however, speaks of the perfidious embezzlement of the Nawab's jewels by Sulaiman. S. M. 744.

36 This man was the father-in-law of Siraj-ud-Dowlah and a friend and supporter of his overthrowers, the English and Mir Jafar. He was certainly hostile to Mir Qasim and was appointed Naib of Murshidabad after the overthrow of the latter.

37 These informations, if true, will lead us to revise our opinion about some of the personalities and the events of the period.

38 This obviously refers to the illegitimate son of Mir Jafar who actually succeeded him because of the death of Meeran.

39 Temporary marriage according to Shia law.

40 Mir Jafar refused to accept him as his Naib, as proposed by Vansittart, and he was always mistrustful of his son-in-law.

41 The following remark of Kalyan Singh is worth our notice " Being revengeful and suspicious in the extreme, he (Mir Qasim) resolved to put the Indians to death. But in spite of the suggestion of Gurgin Khan, Englishmen who were kept in custody, were left unmolested as a precautionary measure ". (K. T., J. B. O. R. S.). The complicity of Gurgin Khan is also borne out by Seyar. " Gurgin Khan advised speed in the matter of their execution too ". S. N. 734.

42 This is also quite a new information

rest in their Aish Mahal and Jawahir Mahal ". When several of their letters[43] were intercepted and a sum of rupees 20 lakhs, sent to Mir Raushan[44] Ali Khan for killing me, was discovered, I had no alternative but to issue orders for their execution. If both these men had not been killed it would have been very difficult for me to escape alive from that place Even a span of ground was not left where they did not lay thorns for me. As my borrowed life had not yet come to a close, fate led me to despatch to the hells these two wretches who had destroyed a world and whose cunning manœuvre and intrigues had caused the death of so many subahdars[45].

What causes surprise to me is that that although by the grace of God I sent to the hells so many traitorous usurpers and fomenters of strife and although I removed the rubbish and thorns of that kingdom to win the good will, and for the sake of the English gentlemen of equitable disposition, the latter have proclaimed their friend to be a ' tyrant ' while they never used such a term in the case of Nawab Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan who had shed innocent blood under their direct protection. If Siraj-ud-Dowla and his brothers have to be left out of consideration, for they were opponents and rival claimants, what for did the English tolerate the murder of those who had committed no fault ? The poor Fakhrut-Tujjar[46] was no better than a merchant and had not the ghost of a claim to sovereignty. What fault did he commit that he was killed ? Further, why were some women[47], who had no capacity to do this thing and that, so ignominiously drowned to death ? Again, Mir Mohammad Kazim Khan[48], who was a genuine Syed and one of his own community, was also not spared ; so also is the case of Shaikh Abdul Wahab Khan[49] and others. Similarly, if you do desire, I can prepare a regular list of names and send it to you. As for myself, I should really feel repentent if I had killed any one without sufficient caution and evidence, in accordance with the Koranic injunctions. Gentlemen ! as regards those who were actually executed[50] at my orders, I risked my bad reputation only for the sake of the English. Having purged that kingdom of all thorns and rubbish to win the good will of the English I quitted the land.

You might have heard of the situation in which Colonel Clive, Sabit Jung, found himself, when Raja Ram Narain took him to Bhojpur. What did he accomplish before he left ? Having brought him to a hillock, known as Mak-

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43 The author of Reyaz confirms this when he speaks of Jagat Seth as " the plotter of the treacherous conspiracy " and as one who had sent out a secret message inviting Jafar Ali Khan and the Christian English, and whose treasonable correspondence had been intercepted. R. S. 396.

44 He was one of the Commanders of Mir Qasim (C. P. C. I. 262).

45 History is quite full with the prominent part played by the members of the Seth family almost in all the revolutions of Bengal in the 18th Century.

46 Khaja Wajid, was so called because of his great mercantile business. At one time a friend of the English, he later became one of their inveterate foes. Karam Ali supports Holwell in that it was Fakhrut-Tujjar who advised and actually conducted negotiations with the Dutch of Batavia in 1758. We also read about the confinement of Fakhrut-Tujjar at Calcutta and his death at Hugli. (M. N. 11a ; V. N. I, 50).

47 This refers to the diabolical murder of the daughters of Alivardi at the instance of Meeran in 1758 (S. M. 689).

48 S. M. 652. V. N. 152.

49 V. N. I, 152.

50 A brief list is available in M. N. 163b.

rikoh, he caused 200 pieces[51] of fire locks to be carried away by thieves, and having exposed him to the inconveniences of the hot weather for one and a half month he spoilt the powder and ammunition of the English. And then he looked afflicted and disappointed. Every one of the traitor used to laugh at the English when I lifted the veil off the whole affair.

It is the usage of the world that whoever gains name and fame and acquires wealth and affluence, he does so for the sake of his children and family and for his own bodily comfort, otherwise such wealth full of misery and evils is of no use[52]. Would that I, a weak ant that I am, had known that the English gentlemen would throw the whole blame of that kingdom on my shoulders and after the regulation of the confused affairs of that land, they would not consider my friendship as a mirror of purity and sincerity, but leave all the disorder and calamity for me, the weak one, and after driving me from the kingdom, they would render me an exile from my own home, as if of all the small and the big, young and the elderly of that land, they could fix their choice upon me alone, the unworthy one, only to fling me aside like flies in the honeyed milk !

As regards the pillars of state of that place, every one of them, though laying claim to wisdom and talents for accounts, has been really working[53] on the plans laid down and devised by me, the ignorant one. Why did those skilful functionaries of the age who were expert in everything, that is Rajballabh, Raja Dullabh Ram, Raja Ram Narain, Ray-i-Rayan, Jagat Seths, etc., who had been the centres of affairs during the regime of Mahabat Jung and Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan and who, with the connivance of Ray-i-Rayan, used to swallow down their throat half of the collection of that kingdom, so that all their wealth was derived from the Sarkars of the Nazims of those lands,—why did such people not anticipate and excel me, the unworthy one, and why did they not show their talents in accounts and establish their reputation for business ability and skill ? After the kingdom had been purified of all thorns and rubbish and the corrupt embezzlers had been exposed, they beat the drum of their financial ability by taking their stand upon the assessment and collection of revenue fixed up by me.

I, the sinner, had been brought forward only for the purpose of diminishing the hostility of Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan which had caused a disturbance in the affairs of the Company. The late Nawab on finding himself installed in the kingdom through the recommendation[54] and command of the English gentlemen, spoilt his comforts and contrived to displace the English from power. He demanded back Burdwan which he had ceded for 1 crore of rupees and he used to grant dastaks for lime, timber[55] and forests with a rueful face and by a hesi-

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51 This is another instance of a new and, perhaps, an exaggerated and distorted version of Clive's expedition against the Rajputs and 'hilly chiefs of Shahabad' in 1759. There is nothing improbable, however, in Bhojpuris stealing the guns and Clive conveniently ignoring the incident in his Memoirs. (M. C. I).

52 The Persian text here is rather vague.

53 This is too bold a claim to be accepted, though the financial and administrative abilities of Mir Qasim have been testified to by even his enemies.

54 It is practically the English who secured firmans and sanads for their nominee whom they supported by their arms and diplomacy.

55 *Vide* above.

tating hand. Moreover, he had summoned the Dutch through the Bugoss[56] tribe and he was always planning[57] that the English should have no power to keep the kingdom under their control, and their influence should be gradually wiped out. On the other hand, I, the weak one, organised such a military force only to protect my life and honour and had never intrigued with the Dutch, the French or the Deccanis (Marhattas) and was never busy in planning for the expulsion of the English. Rather, I was always their protector and supporter, as far as I could, and whatever promise I made I duly fulfilled it and was never guilty of breach of faith. When hostilities were committed and repeated by the English I had no remedy but to get out of the kingdom. I escaped slowly and in the rainy season to one of my compatriots.

Whatever happened from my side was due to my helplessness and want of any other removed, for I had lost all control over my disloyal army. Still I had informed Major Adams of my helpless condition and remonstrated much with my turbulent and noisy people and hesitated[58] in giving orders for the execution of the English prisoners. When the letter of Major Adams, and the Firman of Shah Alam and the secret letters of the late Nawab reached the hands of the erroneous, rebellious people they pressed me and did what they deemed advisable for their own selfish ends[59] and thus threw the blame for the blood of the English on me, the sinner.

Let the English gentlemen of just and equitable disposition weigh the whole thing and render justice, for, I, the sinner, never killed treacherously any one during the days of my authority and power, by deluding him with false words and pledges. When thousands of people including Muslims, on both sides, fell dead, during this domestic struggle, how can the claim for the blood be put forward by any one party ? If you forgive and draw the pen of pardon (across the past) it can not but enhance your reputation for Magnanimity. The pleasure felt in forgiveness is absent in retaliation. However, you are the master of your will. I have no other desire except to pacify the English gentlemen and purify their mind of ill will. If you put me in possession of a small thing in the shape of a jagir or land in Aima (fiefs), dwelling houses, gardens, and a burial place, I shall deem it to be a great

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56 M. N. 141a. " The Bukkas Warrior resident in the kingdom of Pegu ".

57 Mir Jafar was certainly growing restive under the thraldom of the English. He gave vent to his inner feeling when he openly regretted the defeat of the Wazir at Buxar as the last blow to the honour and reputation of the Indians. See also the introduction to Vol. III of C. P C. p. IX-n.

58 As already remarked above, Mir Qasim had at first gone so far as to disregard the evil advice of Gurgin Khan to murder the English prisoners. If the situation had been handled tactfully, perhaps, the worst might not have happened. The version in Seyar that the councillors at Calcutta wrote that if Mir Qasim were to kill even hundred of such persons, they would not think of anything but revenge for Amiyatt's murder is supported by the proceedings of the Consultation and also by what Vansittart wrote to the Nawab on Sept., 17, 1763. " The honour of our nation and the interest of our Company will not be sacrificed to this consideration nor the operation of our army stopped ". But Vansittart was helpless. (S.M. 729 ; V.N. III, 371).

59 Mir Qasim writes in another letter quoted in C. R., May, 1935, " He had lost all control over his army. A conspiracy was set on foot by designing persons who had chosen to join Mir Jafar, Sumru, the German, who was appointed to the command of the army after Gurgin Khan, contrived with Mir Mahommad Jafar about the assassination of the English prisoners, the object being to create an unsuperable barrier between him and the English."

favour. I shall send one of my children ([60]) from here to the English gentlemen so that he may always remain in their presence and receive his education under their supervision. If I feel composed and collected in my mind and am at ease I shall myself seek the honour of an interview with the English gentlemen and derive benefits from them. If you do not approve of it, I shall have to give up all hopes, and shall act in accordance with the saying 'Fly to God'. God's kingdom is not narrow and circumscribed and my legs are also not lame."

Abbreviations.

P. I. H. R. C.	.. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
J. B. O. R. S.	.. Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
C. P. C. ..	.. Calender of Persian Correspondence.
V. N. ..	.. A Narrative of the Transaction in Bengal by Vansittart.
M. R. B. ..	.. Memoirs of the Revolution in Bengal by Watts.
K. T. ..	.. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh by M. Kalyan Singh.
M. N. ..	.. Muzaffar-Nama by Karam Ali.
S. M. ..	.. Seyar-ul-Mutakherin by Gholam Husain.
T. M. ..	.. Tarikh-i-Muzaffari by Mohammad Ali Ansari.
R. S. ..	.. Reyaz-us-Salatin by Gholam Husain.
M. Q. ..	.. Mir Qasim by Mr. Nand Lal Chatterjee.
M. C.	.. Life of Clive by Malcolm.

Some Manuals of Mughal Administrations.

(By Mr. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A.)

The Mughal Government was essentially a *paper* Government. The division of the empire into so many provinces, the organization of the administration into so many departments at the centre, the increasing number and variety of office appointments and the expansion of the imperial territories all result in an enormous increase in the volume of business transacted. This necessarily resulted in the evolution of a well regulated office procedure; the transit of official documents to and from various departments naturally produced rules of procedure which tended to become precedents. It is not surprising therefore that need for reducing into writing the compli-

[60] This was a sincere gesture of good will which unfortunately appears to have remained unheeded. Mir Qasim died penniless on the 7th June, 1777, in the city of Delhi. He could be buried only when the King sent Rs. 200 for the purpose (K. T. 137). As regards his 7 sons, they were presented by Ali Ibrahim Khan to Governor W. Hastings, who fixed some allowance for each one of them and allowed them to reside at Benares. Their descendants are still found in that sacred city in a rather abject condition.

cated office procedure of the Mughals was felt towards the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. This resulted in the compilation of several works usually known as *Dastūr-ul-Amals*, besides the production of several works on administration under various other names. So far I have been able to trace some eleven works of this kind in the Library of the Muslim University of Aligarh, the State Library, Rampur, the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, the Imperial Record Office, Delhi, and the Library of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Darjeeling. Not all of them bear the usual title, *Dastūr-ul-Amal*. There is the *Zawabāt-i-Ālamgīr*, a British Museum MS, a copy of which is in the possession of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. *Farhang-i-Kārdānī* of Jagat Rai (MS.) has been traced so far in the Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh, alone which also possesses a complete MS. of what Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar had described from an incomplete fragment that came into his hands as a " Manual of Officers' Duties ", but which has turned out to be the *Hidayat ul-Qawanin* of Hidayat Ullah Bihari. Curiously enough, the Imperial Record Office, Delhi, possesses a unique Persian MS., the *Khallāq-us-Sayyāq* which used to be erroneously described in the Departmental Catalogue as a Diary of Aurangzeb, a description which Khan Bahadur Zafar Hussain has reproduced in his Bibliography of Muslim India published by the Archæological Department. The *Dastūr-i-Jahān Kushā* of Khair Ullah (Muslim University, Aligarh), *Guldasta-i-Saltanat* by Chandar Bhān (Muslim University, Aligarh) and the collection of undated Appointment Orders in possession of S. U. Molvi Abdur Rahman of Delhi complete the tale of such works not bearing the name—*Dastūr-ul-Amal*. Four MSS with this title can be traced in the Muslim University, Aligarh, the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, the State Library, Rampur, and a transcript in the Library of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar being a copy of an India Office MS. Only four of these eleven MSS are dated, the *Farhang Kārdanī* (1080 A.H.), the Hidāyāt-ul-Qawānīn (1241 A.H.), the *Dastūr-ul-Amal*, Bankipur MS. (1178 A.H.) and the *Dastūr-ul-Amal*, Aligarh MS. (1144 A.H.). The *Guldasta-i-Saltanat* of Chandar Bhān can be definitely assigned to the reign of Shah Jahan, and the *Dastūr-i-Jahān Kusha* and the *Khallāq-us-Sayyāq* to that of Aurangazeb. It is difficult to be certain about the date of other MSS. They can be all very well assigned to the eighteenth century. But the difficulty lies in the fact that their various parts seem to have been compiled at different times.

Most of these works follow the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* in being not only Manuals of Administration but descriptive gazetteers as well. As the detailed description of their contents given below will show, they supply us with many topographical details and historical anecdotes. It has been suggested that the information contained in them is more reliable than the Institutes of Akbar described in the *Āīn* by Abul Fazl, the latter are supposed to be the pious intentions of Akbar, whereas similar descriptions in these works on Administration are supposed to represent working rules of office. Now this is not always true of all these works. The *Hidāyat-ul-Qawānīn*, the *Dastur-i-Jahan Kusha*, the Appointment Orders all describe the ideal rather than the actual. No *Dastūr-ul-Amal* bears any traces of having been an official compilation or otherwise possessing official backing. They are compilations made by Mughal public servants probably based on such orders as they could trace in original or in copies. That they describe the details of administration which the *Āīn* may sometimes ignore need not always be considered a merit. It is no use possessing a list of even the workshops without knowing what some of them were. The bare details of the salaries of Mansabdars without such descriptive matter as enlivens the *Āīn* land

us very often into difficulties rather than open the way to an understanding of the problems they try to solve. One need not fall foul of the *Āin* to appreciate fully the valuable information contained in the *Dastūrs*. Even when it comes to the details of administration the Manuals can not beat the *Āīn* in its supply of the details of Land Revenue Administration.

The contents of none of these works have so far been described in detail. The *Khallāq-us-Sayyāq*, the *Guldasta-i-Saltanat*[1] the *Dastūr-i-Jahān Kusha*, the *Farhang-i-Kārdānī*, are being described here for the first time. The detailed analysis of the six other MSS will, it is hoped, prove of interest to scholars engaged in a study of the Mughal period.

Administrative Manuals.

I.—INDIA OFFICE MS., COPY IN POSSESSION OF SIR JADU NATH SARKAR.

1. Distribution of work among the Imperial Bakshīs .. .. f. 82a
2. Khān-i-Sāmān .. .. f. 83a
3. Bayūtāt .. .. f. 84a
4. Mīr-i-Ātish .. .. f. 84b
5. Accountant of Musketeers .. .. f. 85a
6. Accountant of other special troops .. .. .. f. 85b.
7. Matters to be reported upon by the Imperial Bakshī .. f. 86a.
8. Duties of Bakshī-i- Tan (Salaries) .. .. .. f. 86b.
9. The working of the office of the Imperial High Dīwān .. f. 87b.
10. Duties of the Dāwān-i-Tan (Salaries) .. .. .. f. 89b.
11. Rules about salaries .. .. f. 90b.
12. Weights .. .. f. 91b.
13. Coins .. .. f. 91b.
14. Measurement of land .. .. f. 93a.
15. Treasuries .. .. f. 93b.
16. Presents of the King of Persia sent by Dāgh Beg .. .. f. 96a.
17. Gifts to Dāgh Beg .. .. f. 97b.
18. Revenues of the crown lands under Shāh Jahān .. .. f. 98a.
19. Revenue of the crown lands under Aurangzeb .. .. f. 98a.
20. Revenue assessment .. .. f. 98b.
21. Taxes remitted .. .. f. 99a.
22. The Imperial Diwānis of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb f. 99a.
23. Dāwān-i-Khālsa under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb .. f. 180a.

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[1] Editor's comments—*The Hidayat-ul-Qawanin* is already analysed in Sarkar's *Mughal* Administration, 3rd ed.

II.--Zawābit-i-Ālamgīrī.

Professor Sarkar's transcript of the British Museum MS.

65. Kopal .. .. f. 146b.
66. Babaw Garh .. .. f. 147a.
67. Kot Kapur .. .. f. 147a.
68. Revenues of Nizām-ul-Mulk .. .. f. 147b.
69. Jagirs of Dārā Shikoh .. .. f. 148b.
70. Jagirs of Siphr Shikoh .. .. f. 158a.
71. Revenues of Talkā Kān under Ādal Khān of Bijapur .. f. 159a.
72. Increments after the conquests of Bijapur .. .. f. 159b.
73. Bijapur officers who joined Aurangzeb's service after the conquest .. .. f. 160a.
74. Increments after the conquest of Hyderabad .. .. f. 163b.

III.—Appointment Orders.

(Molvi Abdur Rahman's MS), Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's copy.

1. Fojdār.
2. Amīn.
3. Karorī.
4. Fotadār.
5. Darogha of the Public Treasury.
6. Treasurer.
7. Superintendent Sāir.
8. Mushraf.
9. Bakshī.
10. Waqi Navīs.
11. Kotwāl.
12. Dāwāan-i-Lashkar.
13. Mushraf of Mints.
14. Waqia Navīs-i-Chabotra Kotwāl.
15. Amīn of rates of the salt market.

IV.—Khallāq-us-sayyāq.

Imperial Record Office, Delhi.

1. Various useful rules of arithmetic.
2. Papers submitted to the office of the Provincial Dīwān.
3. Duties of the Amīn.
4. Collection of revenue.
5. Deeds of acceptance.
6. Rules for finding out the area.
7. Ram Dass Karori of Ram Pur.
8. Duties of Qānūngo.
9. Amīn.

10. Order of Shāh Jahān's ministers and revenue officers.
11. Pesh Kash of a Qanūngo.
12. Fota Dār of Parganah.
13. Jiziya.
14. Taxes collected in the salt market and grain markets.
15. Compensation for trampling of crops.
16. Workshops.
17. Duties of the Imperial Bakshis.
18. Miscellaneous taxes.
19. Salaries of Mansabdars.
20. Deductions.
21. Branding of horses.
22. Securities for Mansabdars.
23. Provincial revenues.
24. Revenues of Persia.
25. A summary history of the Mughals.
26. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān.
27. Provinces and their history.
   (*a*) Delhi.
   (*b*) Bengal.
   (*c*) Jonepore.
   (*d*) Malwa.
   (*e*) Deccan.
   (*f*) Gujrat.
   (*g*) Thatta.
   (*h*) Kashmir.

V.—DUSTŪR-UL-AMAL (BANKIPUR 1178 A. H.).

1.	Aīn-i-Wakīl and Dīwān	.. ..	f. 2.
2.	Dīwān-i-Khālsa	.. ..	f. 3.
3.	Fojdār	.. ..	f. 4.
4.	Clerk in charge of expenses	.. ..	f. 8.
5.	Rules about the work of the Sadr and grant of substance allowances	.. ..	f. 9.
6.	Regulations about the Amīn	.. ..	f. 9.
7.	Do. Tūmār	.. ..	f. 11.
8.	Do. Karorī	.. ..	f. 14.
9.	Do. Waqai-Nigār, Kasūr Navīs	..	f. 16.
10.	Do. Mustaufi	.. .. ..	f. 17.
11.	Mīr Sāmān and Dīwān of Bayūtāt	.. ..	f. 18.
12.	Superintendent and accountants of workshops	.. ..	f. 18.

48. Dates of the Hijri era .. .. f. 60.
49. Auspicious days for travelling .. .. f. 60.
50. Provincial statistics including :—
Revenues, Mosques and tombs of kings, Rivers, Governors, Distances, Buildings, Gardens, Revenues of Akbar, Shāh Jahān, Shāh Ālam .. .. f. 61 to 126.
51. Ports on the coast of Bengal .. .. f. 126.
52. Pegu, Cuch, Assam .. .. f. 126.
53. Revenues of Turan .. .. f. 127.
54. Revenues of Persia .. .. f. 127.
55. Revenues of Portugal .. .. f. 128.
56. Account of Persia and Khotan .. .. f. 128.
57. Origin of animate beings .. .. f. 129.
58. Area of the world .. .. f. 130.
59. Appendix on the Prime Ministers .. .. .. f. 131.
60. Account of Vākīl Mutliq .. .. f. 131.
61. Ministers (Prime) from Akbar to Shāh Jahān .. .. f. 133.
62. Rates .. .. f. 136.
63. Extent of territories .. .. f. 152.
64. Distances .. .. f. 152.
65. Forts .. .. f. 153.
66. Births and deaths of Mughal Emperors (Temur to Raffi-ul-Shān) f. 155.
67. Gifts of Nazām-ul-Mulk .. .. f. 155.
68. Some administrative orders of Bābaur, Humāyūn, Akbar, Jahangīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb .. .. .. f. 161.
69. Cost of Shāh Jahān's buildings .. .. f. 162.

VI.—Dastūr-ul-Amal (Aligarh).

[By Munshi Sher Afghan (1144 A. H.).]

1. Fojdār, Amīn, and Shiqdār .. .. f. 8a.
2. Deeds of security .. .. f. 9b.
3. Clerks .. .. f. 11b.
4. Treasurer .. .. f. 12b.
5. Waqai-i-Nagār .. .. f. 13b.
6. Barāmad Navīs .. .. f. 14a.
7. Certificate of dues .. .. f. 15b.
8. Wakālit Nāma .. .. f. 16b.
9. Dīwān .. .. f. 16b.
10. Bakshī .. .. f. 16b.
11. Khān-i-Sāmān .. .. f. 17a.
12. Dārogha-i-Topkhāna .. .. f. 17a.

13. Accountant	f. 17a.
14. Munshī	f. 17a.
15. Hazūr Navis	f. 17a.
16. ?	
17. Dārogha-i-Khazāna	f. 25a.
18. The Mushraf	f. 25b.
19. Superintendent of the court	f. 25b.
20. Personal Assistant to the Superintendent	f. 26a.
21. Kotwāl	f. 26b.
22. The Mushraf of miscellaneous receipts	f. 27b.
23. Superintendent of the royal court	f. 28a.
24. Head Clerk	f. 28a.
25. Superintendent of gardens	f. 28b.
26. Writer of diverse deeds	f. 29b.
27. Sadr	f. 36b.
28. Qazi	f. 37b.
29. Mufti	f. 38a.
30. Censor	f. 36a.
31. ?	
32. Recorder of rates	f. 39b.
33. Chaudhrī	f. 41a.
34. Qānūngo	f. 43b.
35. Dispensaries	f. 46a.

Third Court.

Workshops	f. 49 to 62b.

Fourth Court.

Assessment and collection of land revenues	f. 62b to 76b.

Fifth Court.

Justice	f. 76b to 89b.

Sixth Court.

Enjoyment	f. 89b to 95a.

Seventh Court.

Miscellaneous	f. 95a to 100b.

VII.—Farhang-i-Kārdānī by Jagat Rai.

1090 A. H. (Muslim University, Aligarh) (50b).

VIII.—Dastūr-ul-Amal-i-Todar Mal (Ram Pur).

2. Statistics and revenues of the Imperial territories :—

(*i*) *Delhi.*

Boundaries and area, distances from 23 cities, revenue.

(*ii*) *Agra.*

Boundaries and area, distance from 32 cities, revenue.

(*iii*) *Lahore.*

Boundaries, jagirs, revenue.

(*iv*) *Kabul.*

Area, boundaries, races, distance from 24 cities and revenue.

(*v*) *Kashmir.*

Boundaries area, distance from 23 cities, revenue.

(*vi*) *Multan.*

Special consideration about land revenue arrangements from 3 Mahals, boundaries, distances from 19 cities, revenue.

(*vii*) *Gujarat*.

Revenue, distances from 20 cities.

(*viii*) *Thatta*.

Distance, boundaries, length, breadth, revenue.

(*ix*) *Ajmer*.

Jagirs of Rana of Udaipur, Raja of Jaisalmer, Rajas of Bikāner, Jaipur, Jodhpur, distances from 18 cities, boundaries.

(*x*) *Malwa*.

Revenue in kind, boundaries, distances from 18 cities, Khandesh in the Deccan.

(*xi*) *Berar*.

Revenue, boundaries, distances from 8 cities undivided into Sarkars.

(*xii*) *Aurangabad*.

Revenue, undivided into Sarkārs, distances from 4 cities.

(*xiii*) *Bedar*.

Distance from Ahmedabad.

(*xiv*) *Bijapur*.

Feudatories.

Revenue, length, breadth, distances from 6 cities.

(*xv*) *Bengal*.

Revenue, length and breadth, boundaries, distances of 11 cities from Dacca.

(*xvi*) *Bihar*.

Distances from Patna, revenue from each Sarkar.

(*xvii*) *Oudh*.

Revenues, length and breadth, distances of 12 cities.

(*xviii*) *Allahabad*.

Revenues, boundaries, length and breadth, distances of 11 cities.

3. Revenue of all the imperial territories.
4. Methods of assessment.
5. Boundaries, breadth from Ghazni to Orissa and length from Láhri to Sylhet.
6. Revenues of Persia.
7. Expenses of Shāh Jahān, grants and gifts.
8. Buildings in Agra and Delhi—forts and canals—mosques, Tāj Mahal, Lahore, Kabul, Daulat Khana, Shālāmar gardens.
9. Gifts to Alī Mardān Khān—Qandahar, Ahmadabad.
10. The titles of Shāh Jahān's sons.
11. The mansab of Aurangzeb in 1636-37.
12. The titles of the high officials.

13. Titles of the High Dīwāns.
14. Titles granted in the reign of Shāh Ālam.
15. Dates of births and deaths of kings.
16. Dates of the deaths of certain saints.
17. Fourteen sciences.
18. Sixty-four arts.
19. Schedule of salaries of Mansabdars.

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X. *Dastūr Jahān Kushā* by Khair Ullah, son of Karam Ullah, though avowedly not a manual of Administration, is much more so than anything else. The writer was fifteen years in the service of Shāh Jahān. The work concerns itself with all that relates to war. It is divided into 12 ' keys ', each treating a separate aspect of the art of war. It discusses organisation, marching, encamping, tactics, manœvouring, supplies, equipments, relations between a leader and his soldiers, and the last, but not the least important, the celebration of victory. The Muslim University, Aligarh, possesses a unique MS of this work covering pp. 84.

XI The *Guldasta-i-Saltanat* by Chandar Bhān describes the daily life of Shāh Jahān's court ceremonies. The following is a detailed table of its contents :

1.	Jhorka-i-Darshan-i-Mubārak-Complaints	7
2.	Jhorka-i-Khās	8
3.	Chahār Taslīm	14
4.	The Ghusl Khāna	18
5.	The Court of Justice	24
6.	In the Harem	27
7.	The Ghusl Khāna	28
8.	Praises of the Emperor	28
9.	Festive assemblies	43
10.	Riches	48
11.	Id	52
12.	On the move	59
13.	The Army	62
14.	The Royal Hunt	67
15.	The Feast of lamps	70
16.	Recent victories	71
17.	Foundation of Delhi	80
18.	The end	89

There is a MS in the Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh.

The Janjira Expedition of Baji Rao I, Peshwa's First Offensive.

(By Mr. V. G. Dighe, M.A.)

The death of Kanhoji Angria marks a turning point in Maratha relations with Konkan and had far reaching repercussions. Kanhoji had established a sort of sovereignty over his territory which had been respected so far and the Konkan had been left unmolested as his particular sphere of influence. The guiding hand of the great Admiral being removed it was decided at home to strengthen royal authority in that quarter. The time chosen was most opportune ; the Nizam, the representative of the great Mughal, had been worsened in the contest with the Marathas at Palkhed and had been forced to abandon his ally, the Kolhapur Raja ; that prince who had challenged Shahu's supremacy finally gave up his claims by the treaty of Warna and accepted the position of an honourable vassal. The rivalry between the Peshwa and the Senapati, though it ended disastrously for the Senapati's party, roused against the Peshwa almost national resentment and united against him the entire court, from whom the Peshwa could find protection only in the benignant influence of the throne. The King's prestige rose high ; his authority became supreme and he now chose to direct the nation's arms to the conquest of Konkan which had remained outside Swaraj territory in spite of Imperial grants and which Kanhoji had been unable to wrest completely from the Sidi's stranglehold single-handed. The Sidi's power from Janjira as centre had spread in a fan-like fashion and had thrust itself almost to the foot of the western ghats, covering the entire Kolaba district with the exception of Pen and Alibag taluks and reaching Chiplun and Anjanwel in the south. His territory thus included Raygarh, the capital of the great Shivaji, a place of sanctity to the Marathas, which their racial pride and national honour would not allow them to be left in the hands of an alien. The expedition therefore was not of the nature of a new adventure but was directed to the recovery of Maratha patrimony that had been lost to the enemy during the interregnum of Sambhaji's death and Shahu's succession.

On his father's death Sekhoji succeeded to the admiralty receiving the royal robes on August 5th, 1729(1). He immediately yielded to the pressure from Satara and agreed whole-heartedly to support the expedition against the Sidi with his fleet. The attack on Janjira was, however, delayed by dissensions in the house of Angria. There was rivalry and ill-feeling between Sekhoji and his younger brother Sambhaji ; the latter was impatient of any authority and chose to remain away when the Admiral visited his liege-lord at Satara in 1731(2). The conquest of Konkan was canvassed at Court and in consequence Bajirao visited Alibag in February, 1732(3), which visit was returned by Sekhoji in April next. In December of the same year a rapproachement with the Nizam was effected by a friendly meeting and plans were matured for surprising Janjira. The negotiations were entrusted to Yashwantrao Potnis who succeeded in seducing Shekhji, a powerful Sidi Sardar. Shekhji promised to transfer his allegiance to the Marathas on condition that he was put in command of the fleet, given a large portion of the territory under Janjira, and his brother appointed second in command at Raygarh(4). While the Marathas

1 S. P. D. XXXIII, No. 1.

2 Rajwade, Vol. III, Nos. 242, 244.

3 Rajwade, Vol. III, No. 244.

4 Duff, p. 427, Vol. I, 1912 Ed.

were preparing to strike at the enemy their plans were suddenly pushed forward by the death of Sidi Rasul of Janjira (February ?) and the split among his commanders about the successor. The Sidi's eldest son Abdulla was murdered and his grandson Abdur Rahman fled to the Marathas for protection([5]). This was an opportunity the Marathas were long waiting for. An army of two thousand under the Peshwa accompanied by Fatesing Bhonsle as royal representative was directed to descend into Konkan and deliver a blow at Janjira. Another under the Pratinidhi was to attack the Sidi's southern possessions. The Peshwa marched with a war chest of Rs. 28,000 by the shortest route through the mountainous Bhor country by way of Pali, Kolar near Surgad, Sikare, arrived before Rajpuri on the last day of Baishakha, completing his arduous march within a week([6]). The suddenness of the approach of the Marathas completely surprised the enemy. Rajpuri and Khokri on the mainland fell without resistance as also the Sidi's fleet lying in the port([7]). Shekhji, the powerful Sidi Sardar, walked over to the Marathas and with him the Peshwa sat down at Bala Roza at Rajpuri([8]) to conduct the operations of the siege.

The plan that had been suggested to the Peshwa and accepted by him for reducing the place was to secure the co-operation of the Angrian navy and attack the island castle from land and sea. Shekhji, the Sidi's right hand man, was in the Peshwa's camp ready to guide the ships in the waters round Janjira. With the enemy's ranks split up, it was expected that his resistance would soon crumble and the castle pass into Maratha hands.

"The fortified island of Janjira lies just within the entrance of the Rajpuri creek, the mainland being half a mile distant to the east and a mile to the west. In shape it is irregularly oval, and is girt by walls which at high tide rise abruptly from the water to a height of from forty-five to fifty feet. On the east side opposite Rajpuri is a large and handsome gateway with steps leading to the water and on the west facing the open sea a small postern gate. The walls are battlemented, strongly loopholed and have their faces covered with nineteen bastions eight feet across and thirty feet deep, at intervals of about 90 feet([9])". The passage from Rajpuri to the castle was covered by artillery making the enemy's approach well-nigh impossible. The castle had weathered several attacks of the great Shivaji and had successfully stood two long sieges. Its capture could be secured only by an artillery that could silence its guns and blast away its walls or by a complete blockade that would starve out the garrison till it surrendered. The Peshwa followed different methods. As the opposition was disorganised he chose a strategy of lightning rapidity—marching up to the castle before the enemy was aware of his presence and storming the place. On his way to Rajpuri he had invited Sekhoji Angria to meet him at Pali([10]) to devise plans for supporting his attack with the fleet.

The response of Angria was disappointing. Though the expedition was under discussion for some time Sekhoji was unaware when exactly he would be called upon to co-operate in the enterprise. When messengers from the Peshwa

5 Shahu Bakhar, p. 89.

6 Unpublished Diary, Bajirao Balal.

7 S. P. D. 111 2. Purandare Daftar No. 104 and Forest, 'Home Series', Vol. II, p. 52.

8 Rajwade, III, No. 2.

9 Kolaba Gazetteer.

10 Brahmendra Charitra, page 48.

arrived a part of his fleet were away south organising the recent conquest of Ratnagiri and the Admiral had to plead his inability to support the Peshwa before Janjira. The Arabian sea is particularly violent during the early months of the monsoon—May to July—when all small crafts are hauled ashore. The admiral refused to risk his fleet in the dangerous waters(11). Shekhji, the Sidi's Sardar, who was expected to take the Marathas inside the fort could achieve little(12). The two main props of the scheme having proved unreliable it had to be reviewed and revised.

Yielding to repeated advice from the Peshwa the Admiral at last met him on May 6th at Rajpuri and in personal discussions that lasted over a fortnight new lines of operation were devised(13). The grandiose plan of the swift and total destruction of the Sidi and the establishment of Maratha authority on the entire sea-board appeared to Angria as chimerical. On the contrary he advocated an altogether different plan of action. According to him the Peshwa's force was to remain encamped before Janjira and watch its land communications. The Pratinidhi, he advised, should exert pressure at Anjanwel. He himself after bringing his ships ashore would negotiate with the Portuguese and the English to secure their neutrality and employ the monsoon months in reducing Thal, Revas, Chaul and such other coastal points from which the Sidi drew provisions and sent raiding parties to plunder his towns and villages. After the abatement of the monsoon his fleet woud assault the isolated Underi island : his rear thus secured the Angrian fleet would then sally to the attack of Janjira(14). Frankly Angria's vision was bounded by his small territory of Kolaba the security of which appeared to him his primary concern. In the drive against the Sidi he envisaged the opportunity of possessing himself of the several points of vantage from which the Sidi had long molested his territory

Unused to sea-warfare, the Peshwa found himself in a strange atmosphere and unwillingly acquiesced in the new strategy proposed by the Admiral. While these discussions were progressing the enemy was not idle. The creek connecting the castle with Dighi and Rajpuri being left unguarded the Sidi garrison managed to secure provisions by means of its ships, made a bold front and absolutely declined to treat with the Marathas except on its own terms(15). After a month's warfare the Peshwa saw the hopelessness of a rapid victory and realised that the enemy could be subdued only by an effective blockade by land and sea. The force he was commanding was unequal to the task and unless sufficiently augmented and aided by the navy could never hope to beat the enemy to his knee. He therefore informed the authorities at Satara that his position was untenable unless assured of ample resources in men and money which he estimated at 15,000 infantry, half of which was to be armed with matchlocks(16). Well aware of the weakness of the Marathas in this particular arm and the incapacity of the royal authority to organise effective measures he advised the King to abandon the expedition and patch up a treaty with the Sidi on his own terms(17) or if the project was to be persisted in, to assist him adequately bearing in mind the magnitude of the project and the difficulties of the situation. Swift came the Maharaja's replies to hold on while reinforcements

11 S. P. D. XXXIII, No. 10.

12 Kavyclihas Samgraha, No. 22.

13 Purandare Daftar, No. 104 and S. P. D. XXXIII, 11 & 15.

14 S. P. D. XXXIII, 15.

15 95 XXX, 17, 18 XXXIII.

16 Pur. Daftar, No. 102.

17 Pur. Daftar, No. 106.

would pour in the Konkan through the southern passes, and through Bhor, from the Sawants of Wari and Gaikwad of Guzarat ([17]). How empty these assurances were the Peshwa was to realise in the course of the campaign. A small force under the Pratinidhi, however, left the capital on its way to Janjira.

The Peshwa in the meanwhile was not having an easy time. The inland forts of the Sidi that had been abandoned on the approach of Maratha troops were occupied and garrisoned by detachments from the small force the Peshwa was commanding, which was further reduced by desertions on account of the inclement weather of the Konkan. Outposts were established at Danda, Rajpuri, Nanivali, Kumbharu—points from which the Sidi was suspected of drawing provisions([18]). To seduce the garrison of Janjira the Peshwa was advised by Shekhji to declare that his intentions were limited to secure the succession of Abdur Rahman and establish lasting peace between the two neighbours([19]).

Capture of Raigarh.

Raigarh, the Gibraltar of the East, had been chosen by Shivaji as his capital for its particular situation and natural strength. After its surrender to the Mughals in 1689, Aurangzeb had transferred it to the Sidi for his valuable services in the war and since then it had remained in his undisturbed possession for the last 44 years. One of the main objectives of the present expedition, its surrender had been secretly negotiated by Yaswant Rao Potnis. A small force of 800 was detached by the Peshwa to exert pressure and occupy the place([20]). The garrison made overtures for surrender. The news unfortunately leaked out and the party that was carrying the money to be paid to the agents at Raigarh was surprised and plunded by Sidi's men([21]). The Peshwa could ill-afford to satisfy the demand from his own slender war-chest and wrote to Satara to supply him with funds to forward his negotiations. Before replies were received from Satara the Pratinidhi had arrived at Mahad (25 May), made fresh overtures through another channel and stole a march on the Peshwa by occupying for himself the place on 8th June([22]). The capture of Raigarh was hailed at Satara as a great exploit winning for the Pratinidhi warm praises from the Maharaja and the entire court. While the Pratinidhi won laurels for his success the Peshwa remained encamped at Rajpuri, helpless before the barrier that lay between him and the island fort and chafing that his rival should have snatched from him the fruit of his labours.

The occupation of Raigarh by the Pratinidhi cannot be acclaimed as a great military exploit. Neither the small detachment despatched by the Peshwa, nor the entire force of the Pratinidhi could have carried the place by assault, even if they had sat before it for a complete year. The Sidi was weak on land and had retired before the advancing waves of Maratha troops. Raigarh was isolated when its communications with Janjira were severed by the establishment of a Maratha outpost at Pachad. But the garrison could have held out if they had the will to do so. The place was too strong for the small Maratha force operating against it. But where Maratha arms would have failed their money and treachery succeeded.

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17 S. P. D. III 12 Karyar, 22.
18 P. D., No. 105.
19 S. P. D., XXX, 95.
20 S. P. D. III, No. 4.
21 S. P. D. XXXIII, 20, 29.
22 S. P. D. III, 7.

The success at Raigarh instead of forwarding Maratha plans gave a definite set-back to the entire project. The secret methods pursued by the Pratinidhi for defeating the Peshwa's plans exasperated the latter and widened the breach already existing between them. The Peshwa vowed vengeance against his old rival for refusing to meet him at Rajpuri and foiling him at Raigarh. The concealed enmity of the two was fanned to white heat and vitiated the future conduct of the campaign. Instead of joint action and co-operation there were to be complaints and counter-complaints and frustration of each other's plans.

Angria opens the offensive in the north.

As decided in their discussions at Rajpuri Angria opened the offensive in the northern sector by capturing the Mughal post of Rajkot at Cheul, where Sidi's men often found shelter in their cruises from north to south. A detachment under Tukoji Kadu while on its way to the Peshwa's camp at Rajpuri, came across a party of the enemy commanded by Sidi Anol, followed it up to Rajkot, and successfully stormed the place destroying the last vestiges of Mughal power in Kolaba (2 June 1733)(23). The attack of Thal and Revas next engaged the attention of Angria for which he begged the Peshwa to aid him with a few cavalry dreading the enemy's ravages in the country round Pen when his troops would be engaged at Thal(24).

Thal is about six miles north of Alibag and had a small square fort 100 by 80 with a gate facing north. It was from this place that the garrison of Underi drew its provisions of food and water and was therefore peculiarly valued by it. Guns from the island covered it, and laid the attacking force open to a murderous fire. At this time the outer works were protected by a wooden palisade and by two bastions which commanded the gateway. Owing to rough conditions at sea the occupants of the garhi were now helpless before superior numbers.

About the 1st July arrived the cavalry detachment from the Peshwa under Keshav Lingoji and Anandrao Shirke. Two days were spent in perfecting the preparations for the attack and the small force moved on Wednesday at the dead of night towards its objective. Thursday morning revealed the attacking force to the garrison, who welcomed them with a brisk fire supported by artillery from the island. The shells burst in Angria's force wounding many and killing a horse the admiral was riding. Braving the fire the men dug trenches in the sands and prepared batteries—three on the southern and one on the northern—and began to reply the enemy's fire. The outer works were soon demolished and the guns from the bastions silenced ; the gunners all this while being exposed to the fierce fire from Underi. On Friday two more guns were drawn to the northern side and placed in position. On Saturday the whole day long a steady fire was maintained from both the batteries and worked havoc inside the walls. Two Sardars of note and a dozen soldiers were killed and many wounded. Realising the post could not longer be held, the enemy under cover of darkness escaped in boats to Underi setting fire to the magazines inside. Thal fell on Saturday, 7th July(25).

Even more remarkable was the success of the detachment sent against Revas. The party left at night and reaching the little port within a few hours, scaled the walls and completely surprised the inmates of the garhi (4th July). A few soldiers who offered resistance were cut down, but most of them were allowed to make good their escape(3).

23 S. P. D. XXXIII, No. 23.
24 S. P. D. XXXIII, 30, 37, 39.
25 S. P. D. 58, XXXIII.

The Underi reversal.

Angria was now free to direct his arms against the last citadel of the enemy in his sector—the island of Underi. The Maratha garrison on the Khanderi island was instructed to watch the movements of enemy ships and prevent their egress or ingress. Batteries were prepared on the mainland and began sending shells in the direction of Underi when on 15th July twelve ships were sighted approaching the island. Angria's first surmise was they were the Sidi's vessels carrying succour from Surat to the beleaguered garrison and instantly the short batteries opened against them. The surmise however proved false; the ships flew English colours and were carrying the British expeditionary force for the relief of the island([26]). The Bombay Government apprehending that " it will be impossible for any small embarkation or ships of little force bound to this port to escape Angria's gallivats, and consequently an end to the greatest part of their country trade " had decided " to use their utmost endeavours to prevent the island and fortress of Underi falling into the enemy's hands by succouring the same ". Consequently an expedition consisting of two ensigns, four sergeants, four corporals, forty European musketeers, sixty topasses and a train of artillery, provision and warlike stores sailed under convoy of the ' Mary ' on the 15th, arrived off Underi on the 16th, taking a survey of the place and esteeming it tenable they proposed to the Killedar the hoisting of the English flag, to which the Killedar agreeing to, the English flag was accordingly hoisted on the 16th in the morning under the discharge of the artillery of the fort and the gallivats, when Angria from Khanderi and his batteries from Thal began and continued to fire pretty briskly at the fort of Underi for that and the several following days, but without doing any damage. On the 18th the gallivats and boats returned to Bombay with the families of the garrison "([27]). Rather than let the island fall into the hands of the Marathas the Sidi had sold it to the English.

The occupation of the island of Underi by the English at this particular moment was clearly an infringement of international law. They justified their conduct by the necessity of the case. With Revas, Thal, Khanderi and Underi in his hands the Angria commanded the whole shipping of Bombay and was thus in a position to threaten the entire trade of the Company in western waters. By purchasing it from the Sidi the English had forestalled the Angria. Maratha agents were already in Bombay negotiating for the neutrality of the English and this was their reply to his request for their neutral attitude. The English clearly showed how little they valued Maratha friendship when their interests were threatened.

On the heel of the occupation of Underi news reached Angria of a dangerous combination between the Sidi, the English and the Portuguese([28]) ; that the transfer of Underi was the first outward sign of this alliance ; the allies were waiting for the monsoons to abate when they would open their counter offensive against him. The Portuguese, according to this plan, were to attack the Angria near Cheul, the English at Kolaba. Pressure at these points, it was thought, would oblige Angria to recall his detachments from Rajpuri and Anjanwel : Janjira would be relieved and the allied force would then land at Rajpuri and attack the Maratha army([29]). To counteract this dangerous move Sekhoji suggested to the Peshwa to lend him a strong detachment of cavalry, to call re-

26 S. P. D. XXXIII, 63—65.
27 Forrst, Home Series, Vol. II, p. 54.
28 S. P. D. III, 23.
29 *Ibid.*

inforcements from Satara ; while his two fleets—the Kolaba and the Gheria Squadrons—would effect a junction and put an end to the blockade at Kolaba ; and possibly would invade Bombay which would then be denuded of troops(30).

Whatever Angria's ideas of fighting the combination the English occupation of Underi cramped his efforts for a time. For since the island passed into their possession Sekhoji ever remained in apprehension of an attack from Bombay or Underi and was unwilling to march his men to Rajpuri and send his fleet against Janjira(31).

The rumours of the formidable combination however did not fructify immediately. Angria's envoys returned to Kolaba telling that the English ever desired to live in amity with their neighbours and bore no hostility to the Angria(32). The main condition on which they would agree to a lasting and permanent peace was that their merchant shipping should have a free passage, and that Angria should surrender his rights over the western waters of giving pass-ports. Awaiting the results of the negotiations, it is worth while watching the progress of events in the southern sector.

The southern Maratha force was commanded by the Pratinidhi and had arrived at Mahad on 25th May(33), that is, exactly a month after the Peshwa sat down before Janjira. Its first spectacular success, the occupation of Raigarh, had been achieved without firing a shot on June 8th(34). From Raigarh the Pratinidhi had been directed by the Maharajah to march against Anjanwel, the Sidi's stronghold in the south(35). Any attempt against Anjanwel without first reducing Gowalkot left the rear of the investing force open to attack. Gowalkot, besides, had assumed special importance on account of its vicinity to the holy shrine of Parashuram, a place sanctified by its association with Brahmendra Swami, the Raja's religious preceptor. The southern army was expected to capture these two places, and once for all free Parashuram from the persecution and humiliation it had suffered from the Gowalkot Commandant. The Pratinidhi marched towards Chiplun (of which Gowalkot is the port) exhorting Angria's officers to co-operate with him.

In this region Angria had already a small force of about 1,500 operating under two very capable officers, his Diwan Raghunath Hari and Bankaji Naik Mahadik(36). The Sidi's possessions comprised Mandangarh, Bankot, Gowalkot, commanding the trade of Chiplun and the strong fort of Anjanwel at the mouth of the Vashisti, hardly 25 miles from Gowalkot. As the Sidi's main force was hard pressed at Janjira by the Peshwa the occupation of these isolated outposts appeared a matter of comparative ease. Bankot and Mandangarh fell at the first onslaught and passed into Angria's hands before the end of May and the conquest of the remaining places looked imminent. Vijaygarh on the northern bank of the Shastri river and facing Jaygarh, was invested on 24th May by Bawaji Mhaske. Mahadik with a picked force of about 500 had turned towards Gowal to protect the temple of Shree Bhargava at Parashuram from desecration ; beating back a party of the enemy that had ventured near the place Bankaji advanced near the fort to engage the enemy at close quarters. A hasty reconnaissance of the place however showed that without artillery the investment

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30 S. P. D. III, 24.
31 S. P. D. III, 50—52, 62.
32 S. P. D. III, 34, 42.
33 Kavyetihas Sangraha, No. 22.
34 S. P. D. III, 7.
35 S. P. D. XXXIII, 28, 38.
36 S. P. D. III, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 25, 36 ; S. P. D. XXXIII, S. P. D. 62, 64, 66.

of the place was futile. Bankaji therefore called for heavy guns from Jaygarh to prosecute the siege with vigour. It was some time before the guns bombarding Vijaygarh could be removed to Gowal. Vijaygarh was stormed on 6th July(37) but before the besieging party could reinforce Bakaji's small force, the Sidi collecting together the remnants of the defeated garrisons of Anjanwel, Vijay and Gowal came down and attacked Bankaji on the 8th. The situation was critical ; Mahadik's detachment was heavily outnumbered and for a time it looked that the day was lost. A small party of the Pratinidhi under Baburao that had previously joined Mahadik fell back in disorder. The brave Mahadik, however, rallied his men to another attack and drove back the enemy. The Pratinidhi who had then arrived at the close of the day at Parashuram witnessed the fighting and hoped to win fresh laurels with the cooperation of Angria's force. On the next day Mahadik was joined by the reinforcements from Jaygarh and the fall of Gowalkot looked imminent.

Things had progressed satisfactorily so far. The Sidi's opposition was fast crumbling. The enemy now received aid from an unexpected quarter. The intrigues set on foot by the Peshwa vitiated the whole situation : the Pratinidhi's advance in the Anjanwel quarter was looked on with disfavour by Angria, who imagined that the former's success in that region would deprive him of a valuable part of the sea-board in the division of spoils. His views were encouraged by the Peshwa who was embittered by his failure against Janjira, by the Pratinidhi's late conduct towards him, especially in stealing a march over him at Raigarh. A suggestion had been made to the Peshwa by the Admiral that he should detach a part of his force to co-operate with the Angrian troops in the attack on Anjanwel. The Peshwa had readily assented, but when later he found that the Pratinidhi had advanced in that quarter, he not only withheld his detachment, but advised Angria to instruct his southern force to defy the Pratinidhi's authority and refuse joint action with him. Angria had made himself subservient to the Peshwa's views and at once acquiesced in the suicidal policy. He instructed Mahadik and other officers to decline co-operating with the Pratinidhi, and to abandon the siege of Anjanwel if the latter should arrive at the place with his force. The instructions reached the Naik just at the moment when he had perfected his arrangements for an attack on Gowal, and the Naik in spite of admonitions from the Row withdrew(38), leaving the Pratinidhi to carry on the siege single-handed. So far went the Peshwa's desire for revenge that he despatched secret agents to the Sidi Commandant encouraging him in his resistance against the Pratinidhi(39).

Mahadik had been repeatedly advised to refuse any kind of assistance to the Pratinidhi and to withdraw from the scene of action, should the latter persist in seeking his collaboration. The Naik made plain his attitude and advised the Row to proceed against Anjanwel and not hamper him at Gowal. The Pratinidhi, well aware of his own inability against the doughty enemy, set aside the Naik's plan and persisted in joint action against both places and occupying them in the name of the Maharajah. The Naik was bound by his instructions and had no other course left than to march back his men to Suvarnadurga.

Shreeniwas Rao Pratindhi, who ever prided himself on his skill in diplomacy, invited the Sidi Commandant of Gowal, Sidi Sat, to a(40) personal

37 Rajwadee III, 305. S. P. D. XXXIII 66 gives the date as 30th June which is confusing.

38 S. P. D. III, 19, 36.

39 S. P. D. XXXIII, 21.

40 Rajwadee III, 330.

meeting (14th July) and advised him to accept of the Maharaja's service when he would be reinstated in his command. Sidi Sat pretended himself anxious to take the Raja's service which he was prevented from doing by fear of the Angria, and desired that as the first preliminary the Angrian force should be withdrawn from its threatening position. The Naik had already prepared to abandon the siege ; his march back was hastened by the Pratindhi anxious to win the Sidi to his side. When the condition for surrender was thus automatically fulfilled Sidi Sat showed his fangs. He declined going to Satara to make his submission to the Raja, said he would deliver the place after four months—thereby making it plain that he was biding his time([41]). The Row at last realised he had been duped upon and prepared for laying siege to the place.

Reinforcements were called from Vishalgarh, the Row's native fort, and arrived at Chiplun on 30th July and on the very day of their arrival successfully assaulted one of the Sidi's outposts. The news was carried to the Pratindhi at Parashuram who ordered his entire force to attack the place from the northern side. His troops crossed the creek, and went right up to the ditch encircling the fort on the north. Here they were furiously counter attacked by the Sidi's garrison and driven back. Heavy rains swelled the creek and added to the miseries of the defeated force([42]). The Pratinidhi reported his plight to the Maharaja beseeching him to aid him with fresh troops and directly charging the Peshwa and the Angrian chiefs([43]) for complicity with the enemy and attributing his failure to their intrigues.

The Row's further progress being impeded for want of cruising vessels he approached Sambhaji Angria, the admiral's brother, to aid him with his ships and called further reinforcements from the Raja([44]). While the Marathas were awaiting relief, the Sidi on 5th August once more led his men and delivered another surprise attack on the outpost stationed near the mouth of the creek. Tambat and Amolik and about twenty-five men were cut down, the rest retiring to the main camp with the loss of their colours and drums([45]).

The Pratinidhi now pressed forward his negotiations with Sambhaji Angria agreeing to whatever demands the latter chose to make. While the negotiations were yet under discussion the High Admiral died ; Sambhaji Angria abandoning the negotiations proceeded to Kolaba to take the command of the fleet. The Row apprehending that Anjanwel would be the grave of his reputation made a last desperate attempt to take the place. He threatened to lay waste Angria's territory near Suwarnadurga if the Angrian force should still persist in its policy of obstruction. On 23rd September the Row scored a small success over the Sidi when the latter attempted another lightning raid on the Maratha lines. The point where the attack was delivered was held by Chavan's veteran troops. As the Sidi's infantry sallied forth crossing the moat they were overpowered by Maratha horse and beat a retreat to the castle([46]).

The final general attack on Gowalkot came on 5th October, Friday morning, early at dawn. Yesaji Gaikwad, Dhanaji Throat, Sidoji Barge and the

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41 S. P. D. XXXIII, 69.
42 S. P. D. III, 38, 45.
43 S. P. D. III, 39, 98.
44 S. P. D. III, 45.
45 S. P. D. III, 54.
46 S. P. D. XXXIII, 105.

Huzarat troops crossed the north trench and marching to the left attacked the Sidi's first outpost. As they advanced, the fort opened on the party a murderous fire. Another party under the Row's brother and Baburao Karhadkar advanced from the right. Before the two parties could join in an attack on the main gate five ships of the Sidi landed at Kasi Bandar a party of desperadoes and the assaulting Maratha force was caught between two fires, defeated with heavy losses and forced to retire. The division under Himmat Bahadur and Yamaji Shivdeo that was to descend upon the place from the Kalikesar hill on the west never made its appearance, and another under the Pratinidhi that had been assigned the task of holding the landing place fled at the first appearance of the Sidi's galbats, thus enabling him to land reinforcements. The detachment under Gangadhar and Mahadaji Ghatge sent to surprise Anjanwel achieved no better results ; it simply marched and countermarched([47]).

Thus ended ignominiously for the Pratinidhi his campaign in the Konkan. An army of three thousand had kept the field for nearly six months without one remarkable achievement to its credit. A small garrison had defied the efforts of an army six times its number by mobility, clever counter-strokes and diplomacy. By October 25th the siege was raised and the Pratindhi was back in the capital([48]).

On other fronts affairs, though not so bad, were in a condition of stalemate. We had left Angria negotiating for the neutrality of the British. Convinced that the British would not directly support the enemy by attacking him in the rear and urged to activity by the frequent representations of the Peshwa to aid in his attack on Janjira from the sea Sekhoji prepared to sail south with his fleet. Before however the fleet could leave Kolaba and engage the enemy the Admiral was in death throes. The constant exertions and the strain of the campaign told upon his frame and gave rise to high fever accompanied with bleeding from the nose. After a short illness of a week the Admiral expired on August 28th, 1733,([49]) and with his death faded all hopes of speedy victory over the Sidi. Consternation and gloom spread among Angria's garrisons and outstations. The detachment co-operating with the Peshwa at Rajpuri lost all heart for fight and showed signs of weakening. The news quickly spread to enemy quarters who heralded it with shelling of Angrian positions and destroying their outstation at Nanivali.

Still more disastrous were the effects of the Admiral's death on the Peshwa's plan of campaign. All the while he had remained chafing at the inactivity enforced on him. He saw enemy vessels prowling in and out of the creek in the rainy weather and remonstrated with Angria for the inactivity of his fleet and the lack of front shown by him([50]). When in this state of suspense messengers came from the Raja to learn from the Peshwa his views about the progress of the campaign the Peshwa had offered to leave the whole business to Angria and retire, or to remain in command and work in collaboration with Angria, while others should retire giving him a free hand([51]). According to him unity of command was essential for success and the presence of three different forces working independently of each other merely frittered away resources, instead of helping the joint result. The discussions were renewed

[47] S. P. D. XXXIII, 115.
[48] S. P. D. III, 102.
[49] S. P. D. III, 70—78.
[50] S. P. D. XXXIII, 46, 49, 61. S. P. D. III, 48, 54.
[51] S. P. D. XXXIII, 42, 43, 77, 79, III, 43.

when it was apprehended that the Nizam would actively interfere in the contest. The king desired that one of the two ministers in Konkan should be recalled to fight the new menace and asked the Peshwa about the measures he would suggest for being adopted. Angria when pressed by the Peshwa to give his views unequivocally on the Satara proposals had promised his sincere co-operation, explaining his inability to work with the Pratinidhi whom he held utterly incompetent for the task. The Peshwa while impressing upon the Satara authorities how very essential it was to restore unity of command, reinforce him sufficiently with infantry, help him with money, expressed his doubts about Angria being able to hold his own against the combined fleets of the English, the Portuguese and the Sidi, not to speak of taking the offensive. He advised the Maharaja to accept overture of peace received through the Nizam if the Sidi, in addition to the conquests already in Maratha hands, was prepared to concede Anjanwel and Underi, contenting himself with the island forts of Janjira and Padmadurga.

While affairs were in this state the news of Sekhoji's death reached him. It had been settled between the Peshwa and the Admiral that the long deferred attack on the rock island was to be delivered on the closing of the monsoon. This had to be now definitely abandoned on account of the impossibility of securing the support of the navy. The Angrian fleet lay idle at Kolaba awaiting the arrival of its new master, whose relations with the Peshwa were none too friendly. Between Sekhoji and his successor Sambhaji had existed a long standing feud which the latter had not the wisdom not to introduce in politics. The only policy he understood and had followed so far was to range himself on the side of his brother's enemies. As the Peshwa had shown himself partial to his brother he was an object of particular execration to Sambhaji, as were all his brother's loyal servants, Raghunath Hari and others. Without an efficient artillery to cannonade the castle's communications and a navy to effect a complete blockade the attack on Janjira could never succeed.

The Peshwa, of course, did not yield without a struggle. On learning of the death of Sekhoji his first steps were to convey assurances of sympathy and encouragement to the Admiral's garrisons and out-stations and to call to his presence his Diwan to hearten the Rajpuri detachment. Fresh batteries were opened against Janjira and messages were sent to the new admiral inviting him to Rajpuri for a personal meeting. The latter however showed himself utterly incapable of understanding the great issues involved and put off the meeting. Starting from Gheria on 3rd September he reached Jaygarh on 5th, Suvarnadurga on 8th, at last arriving at Kolaba on 18th September([52]). On 20th arrived Balaji Mahadeo, the Peshwa's envoy, urging Sambhaji to visit his master at Rajpuri. Angria shamelessly told the envoy "his brother was a friend of the Peshwa, not he!"([53]) On the 21st the envoy wrote back to his master that Sambhaji declined visiting him just now, and frankly gave it as his opinion that hopes of securing the support of the navy were slender in view of the recent changes at the Admiralty.

To Janjira that was to be blockaded and starved by the Marathas was brought succour by a strong complement of English ships under Capt. Mclean— A strange spectacle was this—the English for political reasons aiding their erstwhile enemy the Sidi, while the Angrian navy that was planning to join in the attack on the fort for three months never put in its appearance on account

[52] S. P. D. XXXIII, 109.
[53] S. P. D. XXXIII, 99, 100.

of the failure of the High Admiral to forget his personal animosity towards the Peshwa. A fitting commentary on Maratha Politics !

The Peshwa's despatch of 27th October[54] definitely marks the end of the offensive. Bajirao put it finally to Sambhaji to define his attitude to the struggle and asked him if there was any chance of the navy co-operating with him at Janjira. With the opening of the seas succour was pouring in Janjira from Surat, from the Portuguese and from the English. An English fleet took up a menacing position in the Rajpuri creek. The Anjanwel and Gowalkot garrisons relieved of pressure, now prepared to embark for Janjira and the superiority in number and equipment passed to the enemy. Bajirao's pressing appeals drew from Sambhaji only formal replies[55].

The Peshwa realising the hopelessness of the situation now gave a willing ear to the offers of the English for mediating in the dispute. The Satara Durbar was prepared for ending the war and asked the Peshwa to learn from the English the Sidi's terms, while it opened direct negotiations through its envoy Anand Rao Sumant. The envoy left Satara for Rajpuri on his mission of peace on November 4th. Truce was declared and on December 1st Abdur Rahman, the Peshwa's nominee, was seated on the Janjira masnad. The preliminaries were settled, the Peshwa agreeing not to claim beyond what was then in actual possession of the invading force[56].

The results of the first offensive.

The Sidi was driven back to the sea ; with the exception of a small strip of territory the Marathas were masters of his land possessions : Raigarh, the capital of the great Shivaji, was recovered ; Thal, Rewas, the Sidi's out-posts in Angrian districts from which had descended roving bands to plunder villages and towns fell in Angria's hands, as also Cheul, commanding the Rewdanda creek. The Sidi's possessions dwindled to his rock islands Janjira, Underi and Anjanwel and Gowalkot in the south. Abdur Rahman, the Maratha nominee, was recognised as the successor. It looked as if the back of the enemy was broken and it was a question of mere time when he would be completely liquidated. The apparent success of the Marathas however concealed their failure in the struggle. The nerve centres of the Sidi's power were his island-castles and his fleet. These haunts of the pirates defied all Maratha attempts of conquest and his ships continued to ride boldly on the sea. It is wrong to assume the Sidi as a great power in rivalry with the Marathas. Originally in Nizam Shahi service the Sidi Admirals had later transferred their allegiance to the Bijapur Sultans. When that Kingdom fell, the Sidis became the servants of the Mughal Emperor and continued to distress the Marathas. As a reward for their services the Emperor had transferred to them his Konkan conquests. The Maratha objective was absolutely supremacy in their homeland and demanded destruction of all others that barred their way. The Sidis should either be vassals or be prepared for self-destruction. They chose the latter alternative and, despite heavy odds, continued to maintain a precarious independence throughout the hundred years of Maratha supremacy.

The causes of the Maratha discomfiture have been sufficiently explained in the course of the narrative and need be mentioned here but briefly. Maratha armies were operating in a terrain with which they were not very familiar. The armies that had fought against the great Mughal, that the

54 S. P. D. III, 102.
55 S. P. D. XXXIII, 117.
56 S. P. D. XXXIII, 131.

Peshwa led against Bangash and the Nizam consisted mainly of light cavalry, their superiority lay in their lightning marches. Avoiding action with the enemy they literally ate up his resources, devastated his country and brought him to his knee. In Konkan there were no fertile plains to plunder, no waving fields to lay waste ; the surface of the land cut up by ravines and creeks forbade rapid movements of the army. The enemy lay secure in his island retreats which could yield only to an effective blockade by sea followed by blasting away the defences with heavy artillery. The besiegers lacked either of the two arms. Their loose political organisation affected all their military enterprises making the consequent conquests ineffective and impermanent. A good artillery is too costly a weapon to be built up by a state divided into petty feudatory chiefships, as was the condition with the Marathas. Above all the will to triumph over difficulties, to conquer, was wanting in the commander. The Peshwa from the beginning had shown little enthusiasm for the undertaking. His able generalship could have achieved better results, had it not been hampered and thwarted by his rivals and enemies. The whole business was marked by lack of unity of command. Napoleon's maxim that one bad general is better than two good ones holds good under all conditions. The Peshwa and the Pratindhi worked independently of each other and at times against the common objective. None had sufficient control over the navy to command its services at strategic points without which the campaign could never succeed. Valuable resources were frittered away against useless objectives. If death had not snatched away Sekhoji the results may have turned out different. But let us not dwell on the might-have-beens of history.

Sind History Research.

(By Mr. Gope R. Gur-Bax, B.A.)

Some years ago the old sleepy hollow known as Sind flared into prominence due to certain archæological finds at the Mound of the Dead—the Mohenjo-Daro. Few people in India know Sind and fewer still its history, although Sind has indelibly impressed its name on the whole of our country, for India and Hindustan are nothing but the corruption of the word Sindh. We know next to nothing of the pre-Aryan peoples inhabiting the territories comprised by Sind of those days, but one thing is certain that they were not Dravidians as was the case in other parts of India. The archæological finds have established the racial affinities of the pre-Aryans with the Semitics and so far there is no evidence of Dravidian culture anywhere.

The present Sind bounded by arid salt and sand deserts on one side and bald hills on the other is a sadly shrivelled up ghost of its former self. The cultural and intellectual contacts of Sind with the rest of India have been few and far between. Its history, like its territory and its people, is still in the making. Sind has not yet produced any great historian nor have other Indian historians evinced any keen interest in its annals.

I give below some of the extensive book collections in charge of certain individuals like Mir Abdullah Khan of Tando Ghulam Hussain, Akhunds of Matiari, Makhdums of Halla, Rana Arjansing, Jagirdar of Umerkot, Mir Khan Mahummad of Tando Allahyar, Pir Pagaro, Pir of Jhando at Udero, Khunra Syads of Thatta, Mir Mahomed Bux Khan Talpur and Mir Ali Bux Khan Talpur of Tando Nur Mahomed, H. H. Mir of Khairpur, R. B. Tarachand Shonwkiram and Dewan Lokamal Gobindbux. I have acquired certain papers

from the Jodhpur State connected with Umerkot and other places of Sind. I have been informed by my friend, Mr. Memon, Principal, Training College, Hyderabad, of a Persian manuscript "Nisyani", written by a famous author of Sind History, Mir Tahir Mahomed of Thatta Nagar, in Khairpur State Library, which treats of the legendary lore in Sind and is the rarest manuscript available. Even the British Museum does not happen to possess a copy of it.

There is a beautiful copy of the Holy Koran which contains on the blank leaves at its end an acknowledgment of the receipt of Rs. 4,43,000 by the ambassador to the Amirs of Afghanistan as an instalment of the tribute payable to the Amirs of Afghanistan by the Mirs of Sind. It is duly sealed and signed.

Many valuable old manuscripts have been lost through the ignorance of their owners and if the material available is not tapped and made use of by some competent persons there is a great danger of its sharing the same fate. I know of a General library at Hyderabad, Sind, which only a few years ago was full of rare manuscripts, records, charts, maps and memoirs of certain officials of the early 19th century ; but many of these have been stolen due to lack of proper supervision.

During the short time at my disposal I have not been able to make any exhaustive survey of the material available, but I attach herewith a list of the manuscripts available at Hyderabad. I submit that a systematic investigation into these records is urgently required and I hope the Commission will appreciate the desirability and the importance of establishing a regular Committee to undertake the work.

Persian manuscripts like Chach Namah by Ali Kufi, Tarikh-i-Ma'asumi, Tarikh-i-Tahiri, Beglar Namah, Tarkhan Namah, Tuhfat-ul-Kiram, Fateh Namah, Frere Namah of Mir Yar Mahomed Khan and Arabic manuscripts like Tarikh-i-Balazari, Yakubi, Aban-Aseer, Tabri, are too well-known to need mention. Many of these were used by the late Shums-ul-ma Mirza Kalichbeg and Moulvi Nur Mahomed for writing a History of Sind in Sindhi and some of them have been presented to the Victoria Museum of Karachi The other manuscripts lying at the bungalow of Mirza Sahib include

1. Lives of Prophets and Sages of Sind.
2. Masnvi Maulana Rumi 1203 A. H.
3. Letters of Fakir Bedal connected with Sufism of Sind.
4. Accounts of Khusru in prose form.
5. The works of poets of India which include Aftar of Ajmer, Farideen of Shakur Gunj, Falat of Delhi and others.

Persian manuscripts presented to N. H. Academy by the grand old man of Sind, R. B. Dewan Tarachand Shonwkiram, retired Principal, Training College.

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1. History of Abbasi Kalhoras written in a beautiful hand.
2. A manuscript which gives the vivid description of battles of Nadurshah connected with Sind history.
3. Writings of Khusru, with the seal of Ghulam Shah.
4. Discriptions of Prophets and especially of Lal Shahbaz in beautiful couplets.

5. Persian manuscript giving the description of the battles of Iran and Tahran which was written at the request of an Indian king, with certain pages torn.
6. Manuscript of Sri Bhagvat written by Himatsing Nihalsing on 13th December 1851 A. D.
7. History of Jhangir Padshah written by Sacha Dina by the order of Dewan Dayaram Gidumal.
8. History of Sind and Afghanistan copied from the manuscript of Mahomed Uta by Sacha Dina by the order of Dewan Dayaram. 1313 A. H.
9. History of Iran by Sir John Malcolm translated into Persian by Mirza Harat in 1872 A. D.
10. History of Lal Shahbaz and his miracles worked in Sehwan of Sind.
11. Life of Maulana Rumi in prose form.
12. Shah Namah manuscript connected with history.
13. Life history of Usuf-Zilekha in Sindhi.
14. Rashidi or Shah Jhani with the seal of Dewan Shonwkiram.
15. 'Sikandar Namah', history of Sikandar Padshah, a very old manuscript bearing no date.
16. A manuscript by Abual Fazal with the seal of Guru Hardas.
17. Vishin Vedant, translated from Sanskrit in 1211 A. H.
18. Lives of Poets with the seal of Dewan Shonwkiram.
19. Shah-jo-Rasalo written in Sindhi in 1273 A. H. by Akhund Sufi Mahomed.
20. A very valuable historical manuscript connected with Nadirshah written by Mirza Mahadi.
21. Life history of Maulana Rumi written in 1179 A. H.
22. "Taj-ul-Tarikh", life history of Abdul Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan.

Collection of late Dewan Vasanmal Chandiramani.

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1. A beautiful volume of water colour pictures of Mir Fateh Ali Shah, Hemaun Padshah, Nur Jehan, Amir Rustom Khan, Mirza Agha Busran Sahib and others with full description in Persian and decorated with gold.
2. History of Amirs of Sind in Persian by H. H. Mir Hassanali Khan, the late Ruler of Sind.
3. Laila Majnu, Sheereen Farhad and other stories in Persian with beautiful water colour paintings and decorated with gold.
4. Hafiz written by Mahomed Hussain decorated with nice coloured pictures.

Collection by R. S. Dayaram Chatomal.

1. Bhagvat in Persian written by Abdul Karim Khan in 1175 A. H.
2. Masnvi Maulana Rumi by Mahomed Bahur Deen in Persian.
3. A poetical manuscript in Persian on Sufism in a neat hand with gold lines. 1121 A. H.
4. Ramayan in Persian written in 1265 A. H.
5. Poetical works of Saadi. 1055 A. H. (in Persian).
6. Old manuscript in Persian connected with Handal with commentary. 1180 A. H.

Collection of Training College for Men, Hyderabad, Sind.

1. Tarikh-i-Nadri in Persian-written by Mirza Gul Hassan Karbali bordered with gold ink and decorated, giving an account of Nadir Shah Padshah. 1222 A. H.
2. Ramayan in Persian written by Brahman Ramdas whose *nom-de-plume* was Kabil Lahori written in verse in 1295 A. H. Copied from the original by Ghulam Hadar.
3. Vyud-ul-Ashkeen in Persian written by Saedi Mahomed Hasani, lover of God, giving his discourses and talks with religious people on bandi paper, page 185, in a very neat hand.
4. An old manuscript giving an account of Hazrat Ali lined and decorated with gold ink, with Arabic and Persian translation side by side and is written in the 7th century
5. An old manuscript in Persian presented by Dewan Parsram Issardas connected with the history of Iran. 1268 A. H.
6. Tarikh-Sind, a Persian manuscript
7. Fateh Namah (Tarikh Talpran) in 1209 A. H.
8. History of Sind, an English manuscript by Mr. Rayland in two volumes, based on Chach Namah—giving a good description of Alor and the Government of Chach.

Collection of Dewan Lokamal Gobindbux.

1. Futuh-ul-Haramain—A poetical discription of the holy shrines of Mecca and Medina and the rites of pilgrimages by Muhji in 1711 A. D.
2. A volume entitled " Sind of the 19th century " containing only water colour sketches drawn by the late Mr. R. L. Mirza, each sketch a master-piece by itself. Amil, Bhaibhand, Khoja, Bohri, Parsi, etc., of both sexes dressed in 19th century costumes.
3. Thousand years old pictures of Mahratta School of Art—Sri Krishna milking the cows with gopies.
4. Another painting which described all the main incidents of Pandvas and Kauravas of Maha Bharat.

5. A painting of Mogul School of Art in which King Jehangir is seen hunting with Nur Jehan.
6. " Hasan Sabha " written in Persian in the 12th century with beautiful illustrations.

Collection of R. S. Hashmatrai Lalsing.

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1. Poetical work of Umer Khyam connected with Sufism.
2. " Dewan Hafiz " manuscript in the handwriting of Dewan Shonwkiram Nandiram in a small pocket size.
3. Ganj Nizami.—Lives of kings of Iran with nice coloured pictures.
4. Beautiful pictures of different Schools of Art in lovely colours and decorated with gold.
5. Jawahar-ulistan—biographies of Persian writers of note—33 in number.

Indapur Village.

A study in Economic History.

[By Mr. C. B. Joshi, M.A. (Bombay), B.A. (Cantab.).]

This paper is an attempt to reconstruct the economic history of Indapur village from the unpublished records in the Peshwas' Daftar. All the material for this paper is gathered from the *Jawan* section of the Daftar. A guide to the Peshwas' Daftar describes this section as ' The largest and perhaps the most puzzling section of the Poona Daftar '. This part of the Daftar consists mostly of revenue accounts kept by the village officers. The author of the guide called the papers puzzling probably because they do not yield direct information about the political history of the Marathas. The guide further remarks, ' To a student having patience and capacity for labour this *Jamav* section of the Daftar representing as it does not only the centre but all the remotest corners of the Presidency is a veritable Alladin's cave........ Information about ancient measurements and revenue systems, the various kinds of taxes and their incidence and statistics of multifarious descriptions as well as names and duties of the old officials can similarly be gleaned '.

Indapur is a village in the taluka of the same name in the Poona District. It is selected for this study because the papers relating to this village cover 16 rumals and the record is therefore sufficiently voluminous. It has not been possible for me to study all these rumals. But I have managed to go through three of them fairly critically.

The arrangement of the papers in the rumals is without any order. In the first rumal I found papers relating to the period from 1689 to 1750 A. D. Each rumal contains several bundles. Each bundle refers to one year. The bundle consists of a *Gaonzada*, the accounts of day to day revenue collections and also some loose papers relating to Inam grants. Occasionally one comes across a *Kowlnama* or an *Istava*. Several of the original copies of Inam grants are found in various bundles.

The *Gaonzada* which is also described as *Thalzada* in some bundles begins by giving the exact area of the village. Then the division between Khalsa and Inam lands is given. The total area of the Inam land is given but no further details about these lands are available in the *Gaonzada*. The Khalsa land is described in detail. The Khalsa land means only the land which was open to assessment and so came under the jurisdiction of the village officers. The land is further divided between Bagayat and Jirayat. The Bagayat land is the garden land and therefore valuable ; the Jirayat includes all land except Dagayat both cultivable and non-cultivable. The *Gaonzada* then gives the actual acreage under cultivation both Bagayat and Jirayat. The names of all the tenants are given as well as the names of the fields. The tenants are classified as *Lavgan* and *Upris*. The *Lavgan* means those whose farm acreage was definitely measured while the *Upri* tenants paid a lump sum as revenue and no exact measurements of the land they cultivated is mentioned. Besides the returns of land revenue the *Gaonzada* also gives details about the other heads of revenue. These are generally the Mohturfa, Baluta Asami and Ghar Jama. The Mohturfa tax was collected from weavers, goldsmiths, *Tambolis* (pan-sellers), oil-pressers, butchers, shepherds and *hunnars* (probably mechanics), and such other artisans who had shops in the village. The Baluta tax was taken from those artisans who gave hereditary service to the people of the village. The Baluta included carpenters, washermen, barbers, cobblers, potters and Mangs (who disposed of dead cattle), etc.

The exact meaning of the term Asami is not known. Mr. Wilson's glossary is not very helpful on this point. This tax is generally taken at a flat rate of Rs. 2 per head. It is not however collected from all and sundry but only from those who pay rupees fifty or more as land tax both Bagayat and Jirayat. It is shown to have been collected from the artisans and the Balutedars as well. If Asami is to be taken as meaning a house-tax then the question arises as to what Gharjama means. The Gharjama is collected at a variable rate from annas 8 to Rs. 3 and more per head. Mr. Wilson's glossary gives Gharjama as meaning house-tax. One bundle has separate slips showing individuals.

Next the *Goanzada* gives the details of the disbursement : the payment to be made to the Fauzdar, the Deshmukh, Sardeshmukh, Deshpand, Patil, Kulkarni, Chaugula and the Chauthai share.

Many bundles are not complete. Some do not contain any *Gaonzadas* at all. The condition of the papers is also very bad and deciphering some times becomes a problem. However, I succeeded in securing two complete *Gaonzadas* and the account that follows is based on the information given therein.

The earliest paper that I got refers to the year 1682 A.D. It gives the total area of the village as 185 chahurs and odd, *i.e.*, 22,400 bighas and odd. The area of the village does not seem to have changed during the course of the following century. The *Gaonzada* for the year 1825 A.D. gives almost the same area. The area of Inam land however shows a change. The year 1682 A.D. gives 4,282 bighas as Inam while that of 1825 gives 4,469 bighas as Inam. Inam land is further sub-divided under two heads. The land given to the village officers like Patil, Kulkarni, Deshmukh, Deshpande, Joshi, Chaugule and Temples, and land given to individuals as personal favour by the rulers. Such lands are given to the members of the priestly class and to some other people like the dancing girls or to paupers. The second class of Inam lands generally seem to have been given from the cultivable waste of the village. Such land is

mentioned as *pad-jungle-jumin*, and is classified in three grades—first, second and third. The following is the analysis of the land as given in 1825 A.D. :—

	Bighas.
Total land	22,393
Bagayat	502
Jirayat	21,891
Inam	4,469
Village sites	481
Khadakmal	2,121
Chopan	117
Nala	296
Medow	30
Pasture	673
Boundary	50
Pasture for camel	1,460
Area under tanks	104

The year 1682 A.D. gives 295 bighas only as Bagayat land. This would mean of course that during the course of a century and more this area was doubled, probably due to the development of irrigation. The land under houses is classified into both Bagayat Jirayat—of course the major portion is Jirayat and only 16 bighas is Bagayat. The word *Khadakmal* would suggest pure rocky land. Chopan land means loamy or clayey soil impermeable and therefore unfit for cultivation. It is excluded from the cultivable area. The cultivable land amounts to 12,588 bighas. This does not mean however that is was all brought under cultivation. The land actually under cultivation was 5,060 bighas only. The rest is shown as '*Padjamin*' or cultivable waste or '*Gatkuli*', *i.e.*, without tenants.

Efforts were often made to bring such cultivable waste under cultivation by leasing lands on nominal land tax for a period of five to ten years. The agreement was called a 'Kowl Istawa' and it meant a lease or grant of waste land at a rent progressively increasing for a term of years when it became fixed. The 1151 'Istawa' shows an account of about 2.437 bighas. 1,147 bighas were fixed at a rate of 5/12 of a rupee per bigha and, the remaining at the rate of 2/3 of a rupee per bigha. It was a ten years' settlement beginning from 1741 A.D. Some tenants reached the limit of Kamal revenue at the end of 5 years while some did so at the end of ten years. There are in all 73 tenants mentioned, 33 of whom had to pay the lower rate and the rest, the higher rate. A tenant having 15 bighas for instance paid nothing in the first year, annas 8 in the second, the same amount in the third, a rupee and two annas in the fourth, rupees two and a quarter in the fifth, rupees three and annas two in the sixth, rupees four in the seventh, four rupees and fourteen annas in the eighth, six rupees in the ninth and six rupees and four annas—*i.e.*, the maximum according to the rate fixed—in the tenth year. There is nothing to show in the papers so far found as to the result of such attempts. The *Gaonzada* of 1690 A.D. gives 4,830 bighas as '*Kirdi* bighas', 4,690 of which are Jirayat and 140¼ are Bagayat. The rest, *i.e.*, 17,457 bighas, are shown as *Balutab* bighas or *Nakird* bighas. Compared to these figures those for the year 1825 A.D., *i.e.*, 135 years afterwards, show 5,065 bighas under the head '*Hajir Mirasdars*', 570 bighas under *paraganda Mirasdar*, while the remaining 17,327 bighas are shown

under *Gatkuli*. The similarity between the two sets of figures tempts me to infer that the 'kirdi land' (*i.e.*, land which is brought under cultivation some time or other) of 1690 A.D. is shown as *Mirasdari* in 1825 A.D. figures. The Paragandi Mirasdari, I understand, as meaning one which is under cultivation but whose owner is not traceable. While the *Gatkuli* land of 1825 I take to be corresponding to the Nakirda land of 1690. If this interpretation be correct then it would mean that during the course of 135 years no appreciable amount of extra land could be brought under cultivation. 4,500 bighas was Inam land and therefore did not form part of the analysis at all. The figure for cultivable waste comes to about 7,000 bighas. This big amount of waste land would explain the comparatively large size of this village and the fact that it is known as Kasba and not Mauje.

The village belonged to the old jagir lands of the Bhosales and so was mostly under the rule of the Marathas. But, for a few years since 1682 it must have been under the Muslim rule. In 1682 it is shown under *Sarkar Junnar, Subha Aurangabad, Khyjasta Urfa Daxina*. This title naturally suggests Muslim rule. The Thalzada of 1689 also mentions *Khujaste Buniyad* in the heading and suggests Muslim rule. A *Kaulnama* of the same year begins with the word Padshah Pir and says that most of the tenants had left the village and so the Deshmukh and Deshpande were called upon to invite back the tenants and the revenue settlement for the year was made at a modest amount of Rs. 766-12-9. The Jamabandi was made with one Govindrao Shekdar, an agent of Janoji Raje Palkar. The Jamabandi for the year 1690 also is at a low figure of Rs. 600. It mentions the fact that the *Ganims* (evidently the Marathas) had looted the village and so the tenants had run away from the village. The Kaulnama for the year 1718 mentions Khujaste Buniyad, etc., and also mentions Indapur under Sarkar Junnar. A Kaulnama issued by Raja Shahu during the same year to the Deshmukh and Sardeshmukh says that Shinde and Sabaji Naik Nimbalkar looted the village and made it almost dry and so the Deshmukhi right was farmed to two individuals for a sum of Rs. 450 and the Sardeshmukhi also for an equal sum. This would suggest that though the village was under Muslim rule the rights of Deshmukhi were given to Shahu. By 1733 however the village seems to have come under the control of Shahu. An Inam grant given by Shahu in 1733 describes him as Chhatrapati, etc., and Swarajya, Monglai, Babti Akar, etc., are mentioned suggesting the Maratha rule.

In the rumals so far examined I have come across revenue returns for about 20 years beginning from 1683 to 1753.

	Rs.	A.	P.	
1683 A.D.	4,481	6	0	Political disturbance.
1689 "	766	0	0	
1690 "	600	0	0	
1694 "	6,631	0	0	
1696 "	745	0	0	
1700 "	7,289	0	0	
1708 "	7,700	0	0	
1715 "	610	0	0	Political disturbance.
1717 "	540	0	0	
1718 "	2,574	0	0	
1724 "	2,343	0	0	

	Rs.	A.	P.
1728 A.D.	4,818	0	0
1733 „	2,812	2	6
1735 „	1,508	4	0
1736 „	1,647	2	0
1737 „	1,785	12	0
1740 „	3,191	0	0
1743 „	3,926	0	0
1750 „	5,262	0	0
1753 „	3,600	0	0

The receipt varied from year to year. Political disturbances upset agriculture and tenants ran away. The rate of assessment generally varied from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per bigha of garden land and rupee one per bigha of jirayat land. During years of political trouble the lands were offered to tenants at nominal rent and this explains the low figures of total assessment in the above table.

No definite idea can be formed about the population of the village. Sometimes it is less ; sometimes more. In bad times the tenants left the village. The cultivable area of the whole village was divided into 42 fields and names given to each field. In 1689 out of 42 fields, the owners of 18 were reported to be present, 14 were absent, 4 were reported in other villages, 1 could be traced, and 5 though present were not able to cultivate.

The field names given in 1825 are practically the same. The village had 7 wadis besides the central part. They are named Tarag Wadi, Galad Wadi, Sarade Wadi, Nhavi Wadi, Mali Wadi and Thakur Wadi. The village had 32 big wells and 76 small ones. The number of bullocks was 190 in 1825 and the number of peasants 106.

The payments made from the village treasury included those made to the hereditary village officials and certain other contributions for specific purposes. The amounts paid to the officials do not appear fixed. But they increased or decreased according to the revenue returns of the particular year. Besides, the whole payment was not made in cash but in both kind and cash.

	1733.			1735.			1737.		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Faujdar ..	1,792	14	0	654	0	0	949	1	6
Chauthai ..	475	10	0	173	8	0	206	4	0
Sardeshmukhi ..	226	0	0	95	0	0	73	0	0
Deshmukh ..	152	0	0	62	0	0	76	0	0
Deshpande ..	73	8	0	31	0	0	38	0	0
Chaugule ..	....			7	0	0	7	0	0

There appears a gradation in the payments made to Sardeshmukh, Deshmukh, and Deshpande. The amounts changed from year to year but the ratio appears to have been maintained. Regarding the incidence of land-tax on the rayats no information is available so far. But two facts deserve mention in this connection. The land-tax as well as other contributions were collected not at a fixed rate and not from all holders, but only from the land that was actually under cultivation and from those holders who paid more than Rs. 50 as revenue. Secondly there was a good deal of cultivable waste available. Only those lands

that paid must have been brought under cultivation by the rayats and it may be presumed that the law of diminishing returns was not in evidence.

The tax collected from the artisans may throw some light on the general economic condition of the people. The fact that these artisans (Mohuturfa) could maintain their shops in the village and pay tax to the Government would suggest the capacity of this village. Particularly the tax on washermen or on goldsmiths is I think suggestive. Here follow the figures in rupees for a few years :—

		1728.	1733.	1736.	1750.
Mohuturfa	Weavers	78	46	32	63¼
	Shepherds	9	11¼	8	10
	Kasar	5	..	..	..
	Oil Presser	5	..	..	..
	Goldsmiths	4	6¼	5	27
	Butchers	..	11¼	3	20
	Mechanics (Hunar)	..	83/4	5	..
	Tambuli	..	5	..	4
	Mochi	..	..	4	..
	Tailors	..	..	..	5
Balute	Carpenters (Sutar)	26½	18¾	10	25
	Chambar	80	70,	45	80
	Potter	31½	10	10	..
	Washerman	19	30	22	30
	Barber	9	10	8	20
	Mang	..	..	5	..
	Total revenue for the year	4,501½	2,812-2-6	1,508½	5,262

Besides payments made to the village treasury the rayats had to make certain payments to the hereditary officials both in kind and also in services. The report of 1825 mentions the custom in this respect and it may be presumed that the hereditary officials made these collections throughout the eighteenth century. The Officers are described in the report as Watandars or Hakdars, *i.e.*, holders of right. They are Patil, Kulkarni, Deshmukh, Deshpande, Nadgauda and Chaugula. Certain items are mentioned as those in which payments in kind were received, while items of services are separately mentioned. Certain payments in kind were taken by these officials on religious days like Dasra, Sanskrant and Shimga. The Patil took one pair of shoes from the Chambar every year. The cost for the pair is mentioned as annas eight only. A pair of shoes was taken by all the other officials as well. They also got their musical instruments such as Dafa and Tamki mended every year from the chambar. They took services in kind from the Patwekari, Butcher, Kasar, Atar, Liquor seller, Milkman, Maneri and weaver. They took service from the Mahars and several other Baluta holders whenever suitable occasion arose. They took from the grocers and fruit sellers certain share according to the amount of articles sold. In shops a distinction was made between those which belonged to the residents of the village and those which belonged to outsiders. The outsiders had to pay double the share paid by local people.

Besides these payments in kind from the various professions they took certain dues from the people in social festivals. When a marriage (even a widow marriage) among the Kunbis was celebrated or when a new house was built or when somebody got a new watan or when some family or caste feud was settled the various village officials were to be honoured by suitable presents such as a turban or a cocoanut. The Nadgauda was not to take anything how-

ever for these social functions. He was to take dues only from those who attended the weekly market and from the artisans who maintained shops.

Such is the type of information that can be gleaned from the papers of the *Jamay* section. The paper is based on scanty material and is obviously incomplete but I think that when all the rumals of this village are studied, they will enable me to draw a more complete picture of the village during the eighteenth century.

A Sanad of Raja Krishna Bhanja of Mayurbhanj.

(By Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc.)

When I first read the name of Krishna Bhanja of Hariharpur(1) in the article entitled "History of Orissa in the 17th century from Persian sources" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, I did not give any importance to it on the consideration that there might be a mistake in recording the name of the ruler of Mayurbhanj in the same manner as is found in the account of Riyazu-s-Salatin wherein the cousins of the reigning Raja were mistaken for the Raja. At pages 327 and 337 of Riyazu-s-Salatin mention is made of "Rajah Jadardhar Bhanj, Zamindar of Morbhanj" and "Jagat Isar, Rajah of Morbhanj" respectively. Both of them are described as Rajas of Mayurbhanj, but the former was Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja's uncle named Chakradhar Bhanja and the latter was the Maharaja's grand uncle named Jagatesvar Bhanja who was perhaps murdered by Mir Zafar according to Siyarul Muta-akhkhirin. This event took place in 1742 A.D. when Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja was the ruler. Raghunath Bhanja ruled Mayurbhanj from 1728-1750 A.D. In this article I have made an attempt to corroborate the fact narrated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar from some local and foreign sources of evidence.

I discovered a palm-leaf manuscript called Rasalahari, an oriya poem composed by Maharaja Raghunath Bhanja, and in the concluding chapter the poet mentions his four predecessors namely Krishna Bhanja, Tribikrama Bhanja, Sarvesvara Bhanja and Viravikramaditya Bhanja. In the geneological table of the rulers of Mayurbhanj published in the Annual Administration Report for 1894-95, the predecessors of Sarvesaar Bhanja are found to be Harihara Bhanja (1643-1688) and Jagannatha Bhanja (1600-1643). I had to reject these names on the evidence of Rasalahari. During my search for records, sanads and manuscripts in 1924, 1925 and 1926, I was able to discover a sanad of Krishna Bhanja edited below and a sanad of Tribikrama Bhanja dated 1093 sāl (1685-86 A. D.) and 32 anka (25 actual years of reign). From the sanad of Tribikrama Bhanja the date of his accession is found to be 1660 A. D. which is also the year of demise of Krishna Bhanja according to the views of Sir Jadunath Sarkar(2). This Trivikram Bhanja of Mayurbhanj who ruled the State from 1660-1688 is mentioned as 'Tillbichrum bung' in Walter Clavell's 'Account of the trade of Ballasore'(3), dated the 15th December 1676. Other sources of evidence have been dealt with in the historical note below.

It may not be out of place here to digress a little. It is not known who was the author of the geneological table mentioned above. From the original documents such as Bhanja Vaṁsamálíká and the petition of Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja, dated 16th January 1833, to the Agent to the Governor General, I am convinced that the compiler prepared a geneological table out of his memory

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(1) Hariharpur was the capital of Mayurbhanj in the 17th and 18th centuries.
(2) J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. II, 1916, and studies in Mughal India, 1919, pp. 207-08.
(3) Strensham Master's Diary, Vol. II, p. 84.

giving dates of each ruler even to the accuracy of months and days. A set of Bhanja copper plates were published in 1871 but he took no notice of them. Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja stated in his petition that from Adi Bhanja to Harihara Bhanja for a period nearly covered by 250 generations no names of rulers are preserved. Harihara Bhanja was the father of Krishna Bhanja. Maharaja Jadunath Bhanja was able to give a geneological table of 10 generations before him in which Krishna Bhanja's name was included. In Bhanja Vaṁsamáliká a faithful narration of events from 16th century onwards has been recorded which is corroborated by independent evidence from outside.

This sanad was found in the possession of Babu Umakanta Acharya of Baripada in 1926 during the search of records and sanads, etc. It is badly mutilated and its lower portion is lost.

This is a bilingual document written in Oriya and Devanagari.

The seal represents a peacock facing to the right with uplifted plumes in the centre, and the name of the donor is written in Devanagari characters at the edge of the seal. The lower portion being damaged, it has not been practicable to restore fully the reading of the seal. The partial reading runs as follows :—

SRI SRI RĀDHĀKRISHNA PADĀ......KRISHNA BHANJA.

Text.

L. 1. Śri Jagannátha Śarana/Śri Khichingesvari charane sarana/Śri-mat Śri Krishna Bhanja Deva Rajánkara.

L. 2. Maku Mahápátraknu namaskára lekha/Makara di 14nara/ E nimante ágyáṁ (delu).

L. 3. Tikáitakuṁ phitaivá nimante a. 500 khaṁ deva/Tikáita (phiti ási).

L. 4. le mulakalantra maidha pahu cháidevá/Ethaku matha hoile.

L. 5. nidhā dei takāṁ sujháiva/Ethaku anytha náhiṁ.

L. 6. Emante nirne kari lekhi delu Lakshminaráyana Tiká.

Translation.

Raja Krishna Bhanja Deva, who seeks protection from Jagannath and the feet of Khichingesvari, orders to write the salutation to Maku Mahapatra on the 14th day of Makara (January and February) ; it is order to this effect that you will send Rs. 500......for the release of the Tikait from the confinement. After the Tekait's release, the money will be repaid together with the capital and interest. You shall have to pay if the matter is delayed. There is no alternative order to this and this is written after due consideration. Lakshminarayan Tika (ita) etc.

Historical Note.

This document does not bear any date. But its donor Raja Krishna Bhanja Deva is undoubtedly the same person as the one mentioned in the Persian and Dutch Records[4] of the 17th century. Gopijana Ballabha Das, a disciple of Prabhu Rasikānanda Deva Goswami of Gopiballavpur in Midnapore, completed the writing of Rasikamangala, the biography and teachings of Rasikānanda, in 1655 A. D. The book was written just after the death of the great Vaishnava apostle, in 1652 A. D. The following lines find mention in the prologue of Rasikamangala about Maharaja Krishna Bhanja Deva whose grandfather Maharaja Vaidyanath Bhanja was a disciple of Rasikānanda and Shyāmānanda

4 Forest's Factory Records of India, Vol. XI, p. 69, & Batavia Dagh Register, 1661.

VANDINU SRI KRISHNA BHANJA DEVA MAHARAJA DRDHABHAVE SHYĀMĀNANDA PADE SEVĀPUJĀ.

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PUNYAVALE PRAVALA PRATAPI NRPAVARA VAIRIRAJĀ ASI YARA CHARANA KINKARA (pages 5 and 6).

"Let me adore Maharaja Sri Krishna Bhanja Deva who is a devout worshipper of the feet of Prabhu Shyāmnaanda * * * * who is a highly dignified king and through the power of virtues only whose feet are served even by the hostile princes."

From the above account it is clear that Krishna Bhanja was living in 1655 A. D. and was a devout Vaishnava. The seal of the document discloses the fact that Krishna Bhanja was a devotee of Rādhākrishna.

The Mughal Governor Khan-i-Duran's despatches, written during the reconquest of Orissa in 1660 A. D., graphically describe the power exercised by Krishna Bhanja 'the leading zamindar of this province' over the vast country from Midnapore to Bhadrakh.

"The *Farman* appointing Khan-i-Duran to Orissa was sent from the Imperial Court on 3rd April, 1660. He received it at Allahabad, where he was Subadar, and soon set out for his new province. * * * * * * * On the 26th September he entered Medinipur, the first town after crossing the Orissa Frontier. After spending some days here to settle the district, organise the civil administration and revenue collection and station faujdars in all directions, he set out for Jaleswar, in the meantime writing to the zamindars of northers Orissa to meet him on the way and pay their respects as loyal subjects."(5) Khan-i-Duran reached Jaleswar in the latter half of October 1660 A. D.

"At the news of Governor's approach, both Bahadur(6) and Krishna Bhanja, the Rajah of Hariharpur (*i.e.*, Mayurbhanj), wrote to him professing submission and promising to wait on him at Jaleswar. The Mughal faujdar of Remuna, on the Mayurbhanj frontier, wrote to the new Governor that the agents (wakils) of these two zamindars had reached him to arrange for their masters' interview. He was ordered in reply to reassure them with kindness and send them back to their masters that they might come without fear or suspicion and see Khan-i-Duran at Jaleswar. Bahadur evidently changed his mind and held off ; Krishna Bhanja(7) came, but with a terrible fate which is best described in the Governor's own words : "When I reached Jaleswar, which is near his zamindari, Krishna Bhanja saw me after wasting a month on the pretext of choosing a lucky day (for the visit), and offered false excuses (for his late disloyal conduct). During the inquiry and discussion for settling the amount of revenue to be paid by him, he, inspired by pride in the largeness of his force, drew his dagger and rushed towards me. His companions too unseathed their swords and made repeated charges. The grace

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(5) J. N. Sarkar's Studies in Mughal India, p. 206.

(6) Bahadur was the zamindar of Hijili in Midnapore. The Batavia Dag Register describes him as 'Badorchan' (Bahadur) Khan in letter dated November 1660. (The English Factories in India, 1661-64, p. 68).

(7) "He kept one thousand and ten or twelve thousand foot soldiers, and was obeyed and helped by all the zamindars of this country. (During the anarchy) he had plundered the tract from Bhadrak to Medinipur, carried off the ryots to his own territory, increased their cultivation and ruined the Imperial dominions". J. N. Sarkar's Studies in Mughal India, page 207.

of the Emperor saved my life. We slew Krishna Bhanja and many of his men. The rest fled. Some chiefs such as Udand, the zamindar of Narsingpur, Chahttreshwar Dhol, the zamindar of Ghatsila, and Harichandan, the zamindar of Nilgiri, threw away their weapons and delivered themselves up as prisoners."

"The relatives of the slain Rajah (of Mayurbhanj) raised disturbances, molesting the ryots. * * * * *".(8)

The above quoted account apart from being an one sided version of the Governor bears certain points which clearly throws some light on the power and influence of Krishna Bhanja, the Raja of Mayurbhanj. According to the statement of the Governor, Mayurbhanj Raja's military power was not inconsiderable and he occupied a position which is in every way similar to that of the Raja of Khurda, "the leading zamindar of this country", South Orissa, "whose power and influence has been recognised in Orissa even up to the date of the conquest of Orissa by the British."

Khan-i-Duran's account is full of self-applause and he has blown his own trumpet in such a way that the Emperor had perhaps no occasion to suspect the veracity of his statement in regard to the rebellious conduct of the zamindars. That Khan-i-Duran suppressed the truth of affairs which happened at Jaleswar, is evident from the following Dutch version which goes to show that Krishna Bhanja was not a rebellious prince. From Khan-i-Duran's own statement it is found that Krishna Bhanja professed submission and promised to wait on him at Jaleswar, and he was not only given assurance but also was desired by the Governor to come without fear and suspicion to Jaleswar to meet him there. Krishna Bhanja's dealings with the new Governor before the date of interview is in no way condemnable and he relying on the words of the new Governor, came forward to meet him but Bahadur the Zamindar of Hijli suspecting the Governor's assurance, changed his mind and held off. That Bahadur was right in his judgment as to the character of Khan-i-Duran, is evident from the Dutch records.

"The great Rajah Krishna Bens(9) (Bhanja) with two or three other important chiefs and several thousands of attendents, came to wait upon the new Governor, Khan-i-Duran, in order to do homage to him as the emperor's representative ; whereupon they were suddenly attacked with the connivance, it was thought of the Governor—and a frightful slaughter ensued. The result was a rebellion."(10)

The Persian records narrate that Krishna Bhanja drew his dagger and rushed towards the Governor, whereas the Dutch records narrate that Krishna Bhanja's followers were suddenly attacked with the connivance, it was thought, of the Governor. So the report of the third party is to be considered as of having more weight than that of an interested one, as the treachery played by the Governor is found to be fully suppressed in his reports to the Emperor.

From Khan-i-Duran's account it appears that Harichandan, the zamindar of Nilgiri, Udand, the zamindar of Narsingpur, and Chhatreswar Dhol, the zamindar of Ghatsila (Dhalbhum), betrayed their liege lord, the Maharaja of

(8) *Ibid*, pp. 207-08.

(9) Foster has given footnote on the words Bens as follows :—"Dr. Thomas thinks that this represents 'Krishna Vansa'. Probably he was the representative of the ancient ruling family". I think Sir Jadunath Sarkar's article 'The History of Orissa in the 17th century from Persian sources, published in J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 153—165, 1916, or his book 'Studies in Mughal India' (1919) escaped the notice of Dr. Thomas and so the mistake in identification thus arises.

(10) W. Foster's The English Factories in India, 1661-54, Oxford, 1923, page 69.

Mayurbhanj, and sought the Mughal protection. These three zamindaries find mention in the Man Singh's list of eleven dependent zamindaries under Mayurbhanj(11) which was written in 1592 A. D.

Khan-i-Duran mentions that Krishna Bhanja spread his power over the country from Midnapore to Bhadrak but the area of the country that was under Mayurbhanj according to Man Singha's list of dependent zamindaries actually extended from Bhanjabhum in Midnapore to Almunda in the sub-division of Bhadrak; so Krishna Bhanja made no new acquisition during the interregnum that prevailed in Orissa before the arrival of Khan-i-Duran. Nilgiri is now an Indian State on the south of Mayurbhanj and its former rulers obtained the title of Harichandan from Mayurbhanj. T. Motte writes in 1766 that Nilgiri " pays rupees thirty thousand annual tribute to the Mahrattas, by whom the Rajah is maintained against the claims of Mohur Bunge.(12).

This document goes to reveal another fact that ransom was required for the release of the Tikaita, the heir apparent of Krishna Bhanja. From the account of the **Bhanja Vamśamālikā** a palm leaf manuscript dealing with the geneological account of Mayurbhanj, it is found that Krishna Bhanja's son and successor Tribikram Bhanja " suffered much at the hands of the Yavanas while he was the Tikaita.". This possibly took place at the time when Ihtisham Khan, the predecessor of Khan-i-Duran, was Subahdar in Orissa. It is said of him that he ordered " all the Mansabdars, zamindars, Chaudhuries and Quanungoes, etc., of the province * * to meet him at Narayangarh whither he would march from Medinipur, the northern frontier of the province, some time after 14th November, 1659."(13) And he imprisoned a large number of zamindars of Orissa for default of revenue. This document is dated on the 14th of Makara (the last part of January, 1669) when the Tikaita had to remain as a captive and in order to release him, his father Krishna Bhanja was in need of money for the payment of his ransom.

The KHICHINGESVARI of this document requires some note. Khichingevari or the lady of the Khichinga, the corruption of KHIJJINGA, the ancient capital of the Bhanja princes of Mayurbhanj in the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. The deity is still recognised as the patron Goddess of the Raj family of Mayurbhanj and an image of her is now enshrined in the palace at Baripada. The importance of the art and architecture of the remains of Khiching has been dealt with in a separate book called ' Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj and their capital Khiching ' by Rai Bahadur R. Chanda, the retired Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

As regards the Orthography the following require comment :—

(1) Consonants are not doubled always, as in *Jagaṇātha* in line 1 and Nirne in line 6.

(2) Dental Sa is generally used in place of palatal Sa as Sarana in line 1.

(3) Dental Na is used in place of cerebral Na as Charane in line 1.

(11) Strirling's Orissa, p. 47.

(12) Early European travellers in the Nagpur territories, p. 6.
Udanda, the Zamindar of Narsingpur, finds mention in Rasikamangala and also in the records of the Revenue Department of the Government of Bengal in 1781 when the pragana Bhclorachaur belonging to Narsingpur was separated for Mayurbhanj. The headquarters of Narsingpur, called Kanpur, is now situated on the eastern border of Mayurbhanj. The Raja of Whalbhume were also feudatory of Mayurbhanj.

(13) J. N. Sarkar's Studies in Mughal India, p. 204.

(4) Compound consonants as in the cases of NGA, NJA, NKA have been written as anuswara in the letters GA, JA and KA. Such forms are also now in vogue in the documents of the courts.

This document bears also some palaeographical importance. The peculiar forms of Uriya script that requires note are given below :—

1. Sri—This is the symbolical form of the letter and was in use until the introduction of the press.

2. Kri—In place of Kr. we meet Kriwich is due to the phonetic difference of R in Bengali and Oriya. In many copper plates of Orissa belonging to the 11th and 12th centuries A. D. such as use of Ri in place of R is often noticed.

3. Shna—In this double consonant the letter *na* has been written on the side of Sha ; but nowadays it occupies the place below *Sha*. The modern Bengali form is almost similar to this form of Oriya Shna of the 17th century A. D.

4. Na, Nya, La and Bha—The modern Oriya letters do not possess the horizontal stroke of letters forming a word. But in *NA, LA* and *BHA* of this document the horizontal stroke is only taking the shape of a semicircle showing the connection with the form of the latter type of Kutila or Nagari characters. The *Na* found here is almost similar to that of Bengali form and in the double consonant *NYA*, YA is almost the same as of the Kutila form.

Proceedings of the Members' Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at the Council Hall, Poona, on Saturday, the 17th December 1938.

PRESENT :

(Nos. 8—57 were co-opted members.)

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., D.Litt., Hony. M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Corresponding Member, R. Hist. S. (Lond.), *ex*-Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta. (In the Chair.)
2. Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
3. Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., Madras.
4. Mr. Binode Behari Chakrabatty, Offg. Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta.
5. Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph.D., Curator, Madras Record Office, Egmore, Madras.
6. Dr. Gulshan Lal Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab.
7. Lt.-Col. H. Bullock, Deputy Judge Advocate General, North-Western Circuit, H. Q., Northern Command, Rawalpindi.
8. Mr. Syed Khursheed Ali, Director, Daftar-e-Devani, Mal and Mulki, etc., H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).
9. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Superintendent, Archæological Department, Jodhpur State.
10. Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon), F.R.Hist.S., Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Travancore University.
11. Mr. S. N. Banerji, M.A., Professor, Mohindra College, Patiala.
12. Mr. Chintaman Vinayak Joshi, M.A., Raj Daftardar of the Baroda State.
13. Dr. J. M. Mehta, M.A., Ph.D., Bar.-at-Law, Professor, Baroda College.
14. Mr. S. T. A. Naqvi, M.A., LL.B., Professor of History and Economics, Bahauddin College, Junagadh.
15. Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
16. Mr. N. M. Deshmukh, M.A. (Cantab.), Bar.-at-Law, Gwalior.
17. Prof. M. N. Kaul, M.A., LL.B., Gwalior.
18. Mr. T. M. Bhat, M.A., Head Master, Chintaman Rao High School, Shahapur, Sangli State.
19. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University.
20. Shaikh Abdur Rashid, M.A., LL.B., Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

21. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer, History Department, Allahabad University.
22. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Lucknow University.
23. Mr. J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, Punjab University, Lahore.
24. Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Lecturer in History, Patna College.
25. Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor, Morris College, Nagpur.
26. Mr. D. R. Bhandari, B.A. Honours (London), Head of the Department of History, Delhi University.
27. Mr. Abdul Majeed Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B., Lecturer in History, Osmania University.
28. Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (London), F.R.Hist.S., Assistant Professor of History,. Maharaja's College, Mysore.
29. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
30. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University, Madras.
31. Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras.
32. Mr. P. P. Subhramanya Sastri, B.A. (Oxon), Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.
33. Mr. K. S. K. Swami, B.A., LL.B., Record Keeper, Secretariat Records, Bombay.
34. Mr. R. P. Patwardhan, M.A., I.E.S., Professor of History and Political Economy, Elphinstone College, Bombay.
35. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., Kamshet, Poona.
36. Prof. D. V. Potdar, B.A., Secretary, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.
37. Mr. Hyam S. Israel, B.A., J.P., Assistant Commissioner, Central Division, in charge, Alienation Office, Poona.
38. Mr. V. G. Dighe, Alienation Office, Poona.
39. Mr. M. C. Trivedi, B.A. (Hons.), B.Sc., Supervisor, Government Photo Registry Office, and Photographic Expert to Government, Poona.
40. Mr. C. B. Joshi, M.A., Professor, Wadia College, Poona.
41. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen), Professor of History, Sir Parashurambhau College, Poona.
42. Dr. Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and Chief Editor of ' Mahabharata '.
43. Sardar G. N. Majumdar, Poona.
44. Mr. D. V. Apte, Anandashram, Poona, 2.
45. Professor B. D. Verma, Fergusson College, Poona, 4.

46. Professor N. L. Ahmad, M.A., B.L.H. (Oxford), Ismail College, Andheri.
47. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University.
48. Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra.
49. Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.
50. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.
51. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Professor, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
52. Mr. S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L., Assistant Professor of History, Patna College.
53. Mr. Gope R. K. Gur-Bax, B.A., Hyderabad (Sind).
54. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Sinh, D.Litt., LL.B., Sitamau, Central India.
55. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.
56. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.A., Saraswati Niketan, Indore State, Indore.
57. Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Director of Archæology, Travancore State, Trivandrum.
58. Mr. C. P. Singer (*Secretary*).

At the commencement of the meeting Sir Jadunath Sarkar read a letter from Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, K.B.E., C.I.E., I.C.S., *ex-officio* President, stating that he was obliged by urgent public business to go back to Bombay and requesting him (Sir Jadunath) to take his place at the meeting and at any other official function at which he should preside. Sir Jadunath accordingly took the chair. The agenda for the meeting was then taken up and the results of the discussions on each item are noted below.

I.—Review of the action taken on the resolutions of the Commission passed at the fourteenth session held at Lahore in December 1937.

The action taken on each resolution, a synopsis of which was circulated to the members, was briefly explained by the Chairman, who drew attention to the fact that the Government of India had abolished the inspection fee of Rs. 5 prescribed in rule 3 and the minimum fee of Rs. 15 for the examination of papers laid down in rule 8, and further, that they had extended the period of validity of permission to inspect the records from two to six months. Mr. D. N. Banerjee (Dacca University), however, was not satisfied with these concessions and pressed for the total abolition of the fee for examining papers and the alteration of the rule (17) requiring papers for examination to be submitted in typescript as charges on these accounts pressed very heavily on research workers of moderate means. He further remarked that generally typists made mistakes in typing capital letters, etc., and that therefore there was no guarantee about the exact copy of a manuscript. He was of the view that papers should be submitted in manuscript if the writing was legible and that the Keeper of the Records should be the deciding authority as to whether a manuscript was legible or not. Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar supported his contention. Both the Chairman and the Secretary explained the

reasons for the framing of the rules, but the members of the Commission saw no justification for the examination fee and passed the following resolution :—

Resolution 1.—Resolved that no fee for censoring should be charged and that transcripts in handwriting without any limitation of the number of pages should be accepted if considered legible by the Keeper of the Records.

Referring to resolution 8 passed at the fourteenth session regarding the grant to the public of unrestricted access to the records of the Government of India up to the year 1800, the Chairman stated that the question of fixing a date up to which the records should be thrown open to the public would be decided as soon as a new permanent Keeper of the Records was appointed. This appointment was expected to be made very early in the new year.

II.—Removal of the Satara Historical Museum to Poona.

The Chairman explained that since this item was included in the agenda, H. E. the Governor of Bombay had mentioned in his address on the opening day of the session of the decision of the Government of Bombay to transfer the Parasnis collection of manuscripts from Satara to the Deccan College at Poona, which it is proposed to start in June 1939. This decision was welcomed by the Commission, but Professor C. B. Joshi of the Wadia College, Poona, suggested that these manuscripts should be kept with the records in the Alienation Office, Poona. The Chairman then moved the following resolution, which was carried :—

Resolution 2.—Resolved that so far as the manuscript part of the Satara Museum is concerned, it should be kept along with the Alienation Office records, Poona.

III.—Opening of a reading room at the Alienation Office, Poona, for those who care to come and study on the spot.

The Chairman pointed out that this had already been done by the Government of Bombay, which had issued a press note* on the subject a few days earlier. The question did not therefore arise.

IV.—Admission of genuine history students to the Peshwas' Daftar.

The Chairman mentioned that rules had already been framed on the subject. One of the members, however, observed that the permission granted to inspect records was valid for 3 or 4 months only and that this period should be extended to 2 or 3 years. He was advised by the Chairman to approach the Commissioner, Central Division.

V.—Appointment of a whole-time Keeper of Records for the Punjab Record Office.

The general view of the members of the Commission was that this question was not primarily one which they should press upon the Provincial Government. The proposal was dropped.

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*Appendix G.

VI.—Steps to be taken for the calendaring of records in record offices in India (including the Imperial Record Department).

The following extract from a letter, dated the 15th October 1938, from Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was circulated among the members :—

"I should like to make a definite proposition that arrangements be made in the Imperial Record Office or in the various record offices for calendaring of papers in such a way as to give scholars scattered over India some idea as to the kind of information that is available in each record office for the purposes of work in various periods, on topics of Indian history, which may be engaging their attention. Along with that there is the question of bringing the records—I am only concerned with records of historical value—into some kind of form and published somewhat like Sir William Foster's 'English Factories in India', so that these would become available in a handy form for use. So long as the records are liable to destruction, it would be worth while to bring about some kind of organization to do this; the sooner the better. As records go on multiplying, their housing and preservation would become a matter of difficulty and one could foresee a time, not in the more distant future, when all the records would be destroyed, if they do not destroy themselves in the course of nature. It would therefore be well that something is done."

So far as the Imperial Record Department was concerned it was explained by the Chairman that this question was discussed at the last session of the Commission [*vide* resolution 3 (*i*) on page 154 of Volume XIV] and that the Government of India had decided that the proposal be deferred till the completion of the work of classification and separation of the late Foreign and Political Department records and the preparation of indices. As regards the provinces, the question primarily did not concern the Commission since Provincial Governments were working autonomously. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thought, however, that a recommendation should be made for the calendaring of records in Indian States, particularly as valuable documents were to be found in them. The Chairman thereupon pointed out that this question had been considered before in past sessions of the Commission and recommendations made for the calendaring of records, and explained what had been done in some of the provinces. He further added that the work of calendaring required an intelligent editorial staff with literary capacity, the engagement of which would be costly. After further discussion the following resolution was passed :—

Resolution 3.—The Commission recommend that steps be taken for the calendaring of records in record offices in British India and the Indian States (including the Imperial Record Department) where calendaring or printing *in extenso* is not being done and the Commission further recommend that the work may be speeded up by taking the help of the local university teachers and other competent scholars and suggest that handbooks of record collections (Provincial and States) should be prepared where they do not exist.

VII.—Steps to be taken for the preservation of old English records and records in Indian languages in the offices of District Collectors and Commissioners in the Province of Bihar and the grant of facilities for their study.

An extract from a letter, dated the 29th July 1938, from Mr. P. Acharya, State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, is given below :—

"I beg to suggest that many record rooms of the District Collectors and Commissioners possess valuable records of local interest where there are no facilities for studying records like the Provincial or Imperial Record Rooms. These records, and especially those of the Ranchi Commissioner's Record Room, are not properly listed and the steps for their preservation are not very satisfactory. In the Provincial or Imperial Record Room vernacular records are very few, but at the Ranchi Record Room there are numerous vernacular records of which there is no list so to say. The record keepers are ordinary clerks and it is beyond their scope to realise the historical value of these records. I may kindly be excused for suggesting the following, but I feel sure that such a step and organisation will no doubt improve the existing arrangement of selecting record keepers.

I propose that let there be a separate cadre for the posts of the record keepers beginning from the sub-divisional record rooms of a district to the provincial record room. Suitable candidates may be selected for these posts with proper training and in course of time it will be possible to have properly qualified record keepers in all record rooms of a province and thereby the value of old English and vernacular records in different record rooms in different provinces of India will be best utilised. If such a resolution is passed in the Indian Historical Records Commission, the Provincial Governments may adopt it and thereby the activities of the Indian Historical Records Commission will be extended far and wide."

The Chairman remarked that so far as he was aware the District Collectors' and Commissioners' offices in Bihar ordinarily did not possess valuable historical records as such documents were generally kept in the record office at the headquarters of the Government. He was of the view that the question was purely a local one and that it was not one for the Commission to consider. The proposal was thereupon dropped.

VIII.—Introduction of film-process for copying old documents in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

A paper on the usefulness of this process was to have been read by Mr. M. C. Trivedi, Supervisor, Government Photo Registry Office, and Photographic Expert to Government, Poona, at the public meeting on the 16th December 1938, but as a visit was being paid to the Photo Registry Office on the following morning before the business meeting in order to see a demonstration of the process of filming documents, it was decided by the President (Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai) that it should be read there. This, however, was not possible for shortness of time.

After seeing the demonstration given by Mr. Trivedi and hearing from him that the cost of the apparatus was approximately Rs. 1,500, the general con-

census of opinion was that it was very desirable that the system of filming old documents should be introduced, when financial conditions improve, not only by the Imperial Record Department, but also by the Provinces and Indian States. The following resolution was adopted :—

Resolution 4.—The Commission recommend, when financial conditions improve, the introduction of the film process for copying old documents in the custody of the Imperial Record Department and in the Provinces and the Indian States.

IX.—Establishment of a record office at Allahabad (United Provinces).

The following note was circulated :—

"Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad of the Allahabad University has suggested that the Government of the United Provinces should be requested to establish a record office at Allahabad in which scattered pre-mutiny and other records can be placed and made available for benefiting historical research. The question of the appointment of a keeper of records in the United Provinces was last discussed at the sixth meeting of the Commission in January 1924 (*vide* resolution 1). The Government of the United Provinces stated that they several times considered the question, but they could not take any action in the matter owing to financial stringency ; they would, however, keep the matter in view."

Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad pointed out that there were innumerable records of the pre-mutiny period scattered over the districts in the province which could form the nucleus of a valuable collection and that a record office should be established to house this collection, its location being left to the Provincial Government. In other provinces there were record offices and he was of the view that the Commission should make a definite recommendation to the Government of the United Provinces for the establishment of such an office. After some discussion this suggestion was accepted and the following resolution was passed :—

Resolution 5.—This Commission recommend to the Government of the United Provinces the desirability of establishing a record office at an early date and that rules should be framed for the access of scholars to it.

X.—Throwing open of all records in the Imperial Record Department up to the year 1859 to *bona-fide* research scholars.

The Chairman referred to the observations made earlier in the day on resolution 8 passed at the last session. It was agreed by the Commission to postpone consideration of the proposal.

XI.—Throwing open of records of the Public, Public Works, Legislative and Finance Departments between the years 1860 and 1898 to *bona-fide* research scholars under certain conditions.

The Chairman was of opinion that this proposal really formed a part of the preceding one and that it would be best to defer its consideration until the permanent Keeper of the Records had been appointed. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, however, thought that on the basis of the procedure followed by the India Office

the records of the Departments mentioned should be open to *bona fide* research scholars and the following resolution was passed :—

Resolution 6.—The Commission recommend to the Government of India the desirability of throwing open the records of the Public, Public Works, Legislative and Finance Departments between the years 1860 and 1898 to *bona fide* research scholars under certain conditions.

XII.—Resolutions by Professor D. V. Potdar.

The following eight resolutions, of which notice was given by Professor D. V. Potdar, were then considered :—

(*i*) Resolved that the Bombay Government be requested to adopt modern scientific methods for the better preservation of documents in the Peshwas' Daftar.

(*ii*) Resolved that every record office be recommended to make arrangements for the micro-filming of documents, as that is the cheapest and in every way the best method for the purpose. It is recommended that wherever possible micro-filming apparatus be fitted up ; in other cases important and old documents be got micro-filmed from such places as the Photo Registry Department at Poona where the results obtained so far have been extremely satisfactory and encouraging.

(*iii*) Resolved that it be recommended to Provincial Governments that the latter do set up Provincial Records Commissions, on the lines of the Indian Historical Records Commission, with a view to periodically inspect, advise and report on the records in the Districts, High Courts, and other Record collections.

(*iv*) Resolved that, as in the case of Christian tombs, the work of preparing a list of inscriptions on Samadhis, Vrindavans, Dargahas and Kabars, temples, mosques, ghats, dipmalas, etc., at least important ones, should be prepared province by province.

(*v*) Resolved that where document inspection is requested for in writing the history of families of historical importance, no fees for the same be demanded for such inspection.

(*vi*) Resolved that the Government of Bombay be requested to take steps to acquire and preserve such specimens of Maratha architecture as the Chandrachud Palace at Ninibgaon Davadi or the Menavli residence of Nana Phadnis or the Morobadada Palace at Poona.

(*vii*) Resolved that a beginning should be made in the Bombay Presidency to put up suitable tablets over places of historical importance, such as old palaces, forts, ghats, temples, Samadhis, mosques, takiyas, etc.

(*viii*) Resolved that liberal grants be made to such societies like the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala and the Dhulia Mandirs as have large collections of valuable manuscript and documentary material to conserve them scientifically.

As regards the first resolution, it was explained in the note prepared by Professor Potdar that the documents in the Peshwas' Daftar (Alienation Office) are kept in *rumals,* which should be changed for either galvanized tin or card-board boxes ; that they need to be carefully straightened, flattened or rolled up

as required ; that those in files should be bound scientifically ; and that numbers should be given where none exists. It was also suggested that the newly appointed Archivist should be sent for training to the Imperial Record Department for studying the scientific methods adopted there for the preservation of documents. The Chairman remarked that as the members had seen the excellent arrangement in the Alienation Office that morning, there was no justification for the implication conveyed by the wording of the draft resolution that the records in this office were being neglected, or injuriously stored. Mr. Potdar admitted that he meant to cast no reflection on the administration of the Peshwas' Daftar. After further discussion the following amended resolution was adopted :—

Resolution 7.—Resolved that recommendation be made to the Government of Bombay for the proper repair and preservation of such documents in the Peshwas' Daftar as are in a damaged condition.

With regard to the second resolution the Chairman observed that the micro-filming of all documents would be very expensive, and that the point should not be pressed as the subject-matter fell within the scope of the preservation of documents (*vide* resolution 4). He added that wherever there was no apparatus for filming, the documents might be sent to places where there was one.

With reference to the third resolution, the Chairman stated that though there are no Provincial Records Commissions, certain Governments have record offices with a number of advisers, official and unofficial, who practically do the same work, *e.g.*, Bengal. Historical Conferences are also held in most provinces where opportunity is afforded to scholars to meet together and discuss their problems. Before adopting any general recommendation of this nature it was necessary to consider first whether the establishment of a Government Provincial Records Commission would justify the expenditure to be incurred. There was also the factor that free access to papers in the District Courts, as suggested in the latter part of the resolution, might give rise to a lot of litigation. Prof. Potdar explained that his resolution did not refer to litigation. His intention was the preservation of documents produced by private parties by way of evidence. Such documents, he pointed out, are generally destroyed by the Courts after a certain period. Dr. Baliga here observed that in Madras no record was destroyed. The Chairman thereupon remarked that district records were of minor importance and scholars often had access to them ; conditions also varied so widely from province to province that no general recommendation could be made. After further discussion the question was dropped.

With regard to the fourth resolution the Chairman explained that so far as Christian tombs are concerned, most Christian people die in India without leaving behind here any relatives, and it is therefore necessary for the State to preserve the inscriptions on their tombs. In the case of the Hindus and Muhammadans, he thought it was the pious duty of their living successors to have inscriptions on temples, mosques, etc. He was also of the view that the Commission would be well advised not to make recommendations that would involve heavy expenditure. Prof. Potdar remarked that the Provincial Governments were not preparing inscriptions on tombs, etc., nor private individuals, nor even the Archæological Department and that relatives did not care about such inscriptions. The resolution met with little support and was dropped.

The fifth resolution was withdrawn after Mr. Israel, Assistant Commissioner in charge of the Peshwas' Daftar, had explained the position. As regards the sixth and the seventh resolutions the Chairman held that the subject-matter did not come within the purview of the Commission and that the mover should approach the Archæological Department. Resolution (viii) was withdrawn after the Chairman had explained that it was purely a provincial matter.

XIII.—Resolutions by Khan Bahadur M. S. Commissariat.

Khan Bahadur M. S. Commissariat, Professor of History, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, who had given notice of the following two resolutions was absent, and in his place the Chairman read them :—

(*i*) This meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission recommends to the Government of India the desirability of securing information about the historical material preserved by the Indian States of Kathiawar and by those on the mainland of Gujarat, and suggests that the Residents of the 'States of Western India' and for the 'Gujarat States' be requested to enquire from all the important States within their jurisdiction if they could supply to the Indian Historical Records Commission detailed reports on the nature and contents of their manuscript or pictorial records (including Moghal Farmans, etc.), for the pre-British period, and especially those bearing on the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, for the information of scholars working in the historical field.

(*ii*) This meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission recommends to the Government of Bombay the desirability of securing information about the historical materials (Sanads, Farmans, Grants, etc.), still preserved by members of the territorial aristocracy (Sardars, Inamdars, Jagirdars, etc.), and by a few very old Muslim or Hindu or Parsi families in the British Districts of Gujarat, and suggests that the District Collectors in the Northern Division of the Presidency may be requested to bring to the knowledge of these persons and families that the Indian Historical Records Commission would be glad to be supplied, on a purely voluntary basis, with details about these materials so as to bring them to the notice of historical scholars.

The Chairman remarked that though the object underlying these resolutions was very desirable, the matter was purely provincial and that it would be covered by the resolution already accepted (*vide* resolution 3).

XIV.—Resolutions by Mr. Gope R. K. Gur-Bax.

The following two resolutions of Mr. Gope R. K. Gur-Bax of Hyderabad (Sind) was then considered, *viz.* :—

(*i*) That the Government of India should be requested to draw the attention of the Government of Sind to the desirability of establishing a department for collecting and publishing records connected with the history of the province.

(ii) That the authorities of Khairpur State in Sind be recommended to preserve the historical records separate from the ordinary records of administration and that these records be made accessible to research workers.

With regard to the first resolution the Chairman remarked that the Government could not lay its hands on documents in private possession, and no recommendation to that effect could be made. As regards official documents, the Commission could only recommend the preparation of a handbook, which recommendation was covered by resolution 3.

As regards the second resolution, the Chairman remarked that the Commission could not press this point on any Indian State, and accordingly the resolution was dropped.

XV.—Reading of Papers.

Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, Assistant Professor of History, Maharaja's College, Mysore, raised the question of the reading of papers at the public meeting and the time taken for such reading. He was of opinion that in view of the enforcement of the time-limit (15 minutes) on the previous day a number of papers had to be hurriedly read and portions skipped over or a mere summary given, with the result that matters of material interest to the Commission could not receive the attention they deserved. He thought that it would be better if these papers were read on the second day at the members' meeting instead of on the first day at the public meeting. The Chairman explained that the object of reading papers was to give the public an opportunity of listening to what members had done in their respective lines of research. In the case of Scientific Conferences, the papers to be read were received by the Secretary some months before the meeting, and long printed summaries of all the papers were handed in to the members just before the session in order to enable questions to be put to the writers and comments made on the papers by other scientists present. Here the length of the paper did not matter much. He was of the view, however, that our papers should be so drawn up that they could be read within the time limit prescribed and also that members should take particular care that their papers were submitted in time to the Secretary for scrutiny. It was essential that all papers should be scrutinised before they are read at the public meeting in order to avoid any objectionable features that they may contain, particularly with regard to matters affecting Indian States. It was for this reason that one or two papers submitted by some members after this session had actually commenced could not be accepted for reading. He therefore requested the members to strictly observe the rule that the papers which they desired to be read should be in the hands of the Secretary within the prescribed period laid down (*i.e.*, at least three weeks before the meeting).

XVI.—Action taken on some questions discussed at the fourteenth session of the Commission at Lahore in December 1937.

The Chairman brought to the notice of the members that the sixth volume of the Calendar of Persian Correspondence covering the period 1781-1785 had been published and that the price was Rs. 15-2-0. He hoped that it was only the beginning of a good thing and that the publication of the Calendar of Persian Correspondence would extend up to 1800, as suggested at the last meeting of the Commission.

The action taken on the questions discussed on pages 150, 151, 156 and 172 of the proceedings of the meeting of the Commission held at Lahore in December 1937, which did not form the subject of resolutions, was explained to the members by the Secretary. As regards the preservation of records (page 150 of volume XIV) the Chairman said that those who were interested in the matter would be well advised to take the names of the two publications laid on the table, *viz.*, Mr. Hilary Jenkinson's ' Archive Administration ' and the League of Nations ' Guide International des Archives—Europe ' (in French).

The question of making any alteration in the description of the old Government House, Parel (now Haffkine Institute, Bombay City) as given by the Government of Bombay in the revised list of commemorative tablets on notable buildings in India (*vide* page 249 of volume XIV) as a result of the remarks made by the Revd. Father H. Heras was placed before the meeting and it was decided not to do so.

XVII.—Date and place of the next meeting.

It was left to the Secretary to arrange for the date and place of the next meeting in consultation with the President of the Commission.

XVIII.—Vote of Thanks to Chair.

Revd. Father H. Heras proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair, which was carried unanimously. The meeting was then dissolved.

XIX.—The following papers and publications were laid on the table :—

1. Annual Reports of the Record Offices.
2. Progress Report of the classification of the Company records in the Imperial Record Department.
3. Correspondence with the India Office regarding the preservation of records there and in Europe.
4. Letter dated the 19th September 1938 from Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., Hony. D. Litt., to the Government of India (not printed).
5. Amendment of the revised rules regulating the access of the public to the records of the Government of India and the Crown Representative in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.
6. Extract from a letter dated the 21st November 1938 from the Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A. (not printed).
7. Correspondence with the Government of Bombay regarding certain entries in the List of Commemorative Tablets on Notable Buildings in India (not printed).
8. Revised List of Commemorative Tablets on Notable Buildings in India. [This list has been printed in the 14th volume of the Proceedings of the I. H. R. Commission (pages 248—258) and 100 copies have been printed separately as a brochure as recommended by the Commission (*vide* page 159 of the volume)].
9. A copy of the Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, Volume XIV. [Tod's manuscripts on Pindaris have been printed in this volume (pages 212—242) as recommended by the Commission (*vide* pages 156-157)].

10. Summary of the reports from the undermentioned corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission on the research work done by them :—

1. Sir William Foster, C.I.E.
2. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta.
3. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B A., Poona.
4. Dr. S. N. Sen M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon), Calcutta.
5. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M A., Annamalainagar.
6. Dr. T G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D., Delhi.
7. Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Bangalore.
8. Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., Mayurbhanj.
9. Lala Ramchand Manchanda, M.A., LL.B.
10. Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon), M.R.A.S., Patna.
11. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Vizianagram.
12. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E., I.E.S. (Retd.).
13. Mr. U Ba Dun, Bar.-at-Law, Rangoon.
14. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Lond.), Gauhati.
15. Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, M.A., Indore.
16. Dr. G. H. Luce, M.A., I.E.S., Rangoon.
17. Raja Bahadur Sri Lakshminarain Harichandan Jagadeb, Raja Saheb of Tekkali, Vizagapatam.
18. Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Lahore.
19. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Bhagalpur.
20. Mr. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A., Andhra.
21. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Monghyr.
22. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Dacca.
23. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., Lucknow.
24. Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Trivandrum.
25. Prof. D. V. Potdar, B.A., Poona.
26. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Agra.
27. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Jodhpur.

APPENDIX A.

Conspectus of the action taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, etc., on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at their Fourteenth Meeting.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
Resolution 1.—The Commission beg to thank the Government of Bombay and their editor, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, for publishing the Marathi historical papers of the Peshwas' Daftar in 45 volumes and commencing the Poona Residency correspondence series, and place on record their wholehearted appreciation of the very able manner in which the honorary editors of the latter series, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahndur Sardesai, are accomplishing the arduous work that they had undertaken at such personal sacrifice.	Communicated to the Government of Bombay.		
Resolution 2.—The Commission record their appreciation of the work of the Gwalior Durbar in publishing a cheap edition of Mahadji Sindhia's letters and hope that they will continue such useful work.	Communicated to His Excellency the Crown Representative.		
Resolution 3 (i).—The Commission recommend to the Government of India the extreme desirability of publishing systematic calendars of the Imperial Records and selections from the manuscript English records from time to time relating to particular periods or topics of the East India Company's administration and that definite provision be made for these items of work being started.	Consideration of these proposals has been deferred pending the completion of the work of classification and separation of the late Foreign and Political Department records and the preparation of an index to them.		
Resolution 3 (ii).—The Commission suggest that assistance should be taken of research students and teachers at our universities and other scholars in undertaking these publications with some subvention from the Government of India.	Do.		

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
Resolution 4.—The Commission strongly recommend to the Government of India that the grant of Rs. 3,000 to meet the expenses of the Historical Exhibition and the contingent charges of the Commission be restored in the future.	The Government of India appreciate the value and utility of the historical exhibition but regret that the question of restoring the grant cannot be considered until the financial situation improves.		
Resolution 5.—The Commission request the Punjab Government to reduce the prices of their historical publications to a figure within the means of our student community as has been done in the case of the Bombay Government's Marathi series of Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar and the volumes of the Poona Residency English Correspondence.	Forwarded to the Government of the Punjab for consideration.		
Resolution 6.—It was resolved that the Government of Bengal be requested to print the list of inscriptions on Christian tombs and monuments which has been compiled from the materials furnished to them by the Public Works Department of that Government.	Forwarded to the Government of Bengal for consideration.		
Resolution 7.—The Commission place on record their strong disapproval of the revised rules regulating the access of the public to the records of the Government of India and the Crown Representative in the custody of the Imperial Record Department in so far as they relate to the imposition of extra fees and the compulsory rules for typing documents and recommend that Rules 3, 8, 9 and 17 be amended in the light of the discussion of the Commission, and that the Chairman do explain the views of the Commission to the Government of India.			The inspection fee of Rs. 5 prescribed in rule 3 and the minimum examination fee of Rs. 15 laid down in rule 8 have been abolished. Rule 6 has also been amended so as to extend the period of validity of permission to inspect the records from two to six months. The Chairman explained to the Government of India the views of the Commission in the matter.

Resolutions of the Commission.	Orders of the Government of India.	Action taken by Provincial Governments.	Remarks.
Resolution 8.—The Government of India be requested to give the public unrestricted access to the records up to the year 1800.			The orders of the Government of India are awaited.
Resolution 9.—The Commission recommend to the Punjab Government to expedite the work of sorting and listing the Persian records in their possession by the provision of extra staff.	Communicated to the Government of the Punjab.		
Resolution 10.—The Commission recommend to the Government of Madras that arrangements may be made by them for the issue of publications from the Mackenzie manuscripts and the Dutch records in their custody according to the suggestion made by Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.	Communicated to the Government of Madras.		

APPENDIX B.

Progress report of the classification of the Company records in the Imperial Record Department up to the 30th November 1938.

Departments.	Branches.	Papers classified.		Papers unclassified.		Remarks.
		Period.	Number.	Period.	Number (approximate).	
Home ..	Public	1761-1857	2,14,166	..	..	
	Public—Governor General's Proceedings (*b*) ..	1837-55 ..	4,175	..	..	
	Judicial	1834-57 ..	19,316	..	..	
	Judicial—Governor General's Proceedings	1831-51 ..	4,672	..	..	
Education, Health and Lands.	Education ..	1857 ..	490	..	..	
	Medical	1845-57 ..	29,623	..	..	
	Land Revenue ..	1830-59 (*a*)	5,947	..	..	
Commerce ..	Ecclesiastical ..	1815-59 (*a*)	11,569	..	..	
	Railways ..	1850-59 (*a*)	16,772	..	..	
Industries and Labour.	Emigration ..	1835-59 (*a*)	107	..	..	
	Post Office ..	1855-59 (*a*)	1,033	..	..	
	Public Works and Electric Telegraphs.	1850-59 (*a*)	52,443	..	..	
Defence ..	Military	1786-1859(*a*)	2,91,498	..	..	
	Up-Country (*b*) ..	1837-59 ..	35,000	..	..	
	Marine	1838-59 (*a*)	9,994	..	..	
	Estate Papers	1826-59 ..	50,000	..	..	
	Quarter Master General (*c*).	1841-59 ..	38,415	..	8,000	
Foreign and Political.	Select Committee ..	1762-74 ..	31	..	..	
	Secret	..	..	1764-1859	1,25,000	
	Secret and Separate	..	..	1773-1811	4,000	
	Foreign	..	..	1783-1842	16,000	
	Political	1790-1858	3,67,394	1859 .. (in part).	2,606	
	Secret Department of Inspection.	..	..	1770-87 ...	200	
Finance ..	Finance	..	..	1790-1859	95,000	
Legislative ..	..	..	..	1777-1854	29,500	

(*a*) Records of 1858 and 1859 were weeded by the Departmental weeders.
(*b*) Letters received and issued by the Governor-General while on tour.
(*c*) 66 bundles remain to be done.

APPENDIX C.

Summaries of the reports of research work done by the corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission since the 1st April 1937.

1. Sir William Foster, C.I.E.

Is preparing a volume for the Hakluyt Society on the voyage of Captain Downton's fleet to the East in 1614-15.

2. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Presidency College, Calcutta.

Has been editing a volume of Poona Residency Manuscript Records, 1803-1813, dealing with the social and economic life of the Marathas.

3. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., Poona.

Has issued a revised and consolidated edition of Mahadji Sindia's letters addressed to Nana Fadnis (printed by the Gwalior Durbar). (The previous private edition was not available to the public). Has also been occupied in arranging, editing and printing the Poona Residency Records and in preparing a complete list of mistakes in his edition of the 45 Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar.

Has come across a few families in the Satara District who possess old documents and who can offer them for historical use.

4. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., University of Calcutta.

Has been engaged in research work on Maratha History and the Portuguese in Bengal and has written the following papers :—(*i*) A Man of Mystery, Apaji Angria ; (*ii*) The Dutch and the Angrias ; (*iii*) A Portuguese biography of Haidar Ali ; (*iv*) An early Portuguese Account of Bengal (all published in the Calcutta Review) ; (*v*) Sambhaji Angria (The New Indian Antiquary) ; and (*vi*) A note on the annexation of Jawli (contributed to the Sardesai volume).

5. Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Annamalai University.

Has completed the revision of his manuscript on "The History of Gingee and its rulers", which is being translated by M. Edmund Gaudart, retired Governor of Pondicherry, for publication in the historical series of *La Societe de L'Histoire de L'Inde Francaise.*

Has also published in the Journal of Indian History chapters XV to XVII of his serial "The historical material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-61)". Has contributed the following papers :—(*i*) Early Tamil Studies and Missionary Effort (Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur, 2 parts) ; (*ii*) (*a*) C. P. Brown : A survey of his services to South Indian History and Telugu Literature, (*b*) A phase of early missionary effort in South India (Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, 1937-38) ; (*iii*) A great contribution of Vijayanagara to the Tamil country (Karnatak Historical Review, Dharwar, 1937) ; (*iv*) Pre-Dravidian, Proto-Dravidian and Dravidian (Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1938). Has also contributed articles to commemoration volumes published in the names of Shree Atmanand Jain (Lahore), Diwan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda (Ajmere), Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu (Rajahmundry), Dr. K. P. Jayaswal (Patna), Professor M. Winternitz (Calcutta) and Mm. S. Kuppusvami Sastri (Madras).

Helped the Foreign and Political Secretary of the Sandur Durbar in collecting material about the career and achievements of Muraro Rao Ghorepade, the founder of that State in the Carnatic.

6. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D., St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

Has been engaged in research work as a Leverhulme Research Fellow at Cambridge, the main subject of his study being 'India in the time of Lord William Bentinck'.

7. Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Bangalore.

Has brought out the first volume of his "History of Mysore from 1399 A. D. to 1799 A. D." and has examined a large number of original manuscripts in different places. Is also collecting materials for a revision of B. L. Rice's "European tombs and monuments in Mysore".

8. Mr. Parmananda Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj.

Has come across a collection of Oriya, Bengali and Persian documents in the possession of the Goswami family of Gopiballabhpur in the district of Midnapore, Bengal, amongst which there is an unpublished Persian Farman of Emperor Muhammad Shah. Has also found some old Oriya, Kaithi and Persian documents in a village in the Panchpir sub-division of the State.

Has published a paper entitled "A peep into some ancient Oriya Feudatory and military titles" (Journal of the Orissa Academy, Vol. I, No. 1, 1937) and has written an article on "The commemorative inscription and cult images of Anantavasudeva temple at Bhubaneshwar" to be read before the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

9. Mr. R. C. Manchanda, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Lahore.

Has been investigating the etymology of the word 'Shalamar'.

10. Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), Patna College.

Has come into possession of some old Tibetan records and manuscripts.

11. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Maharaja's College, Vizianagram.

At the Ninth Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937 contributed two articles on "Foreign contact with Andhradesa in the early centuries of the Christian Era" and "Some noble Families of the Eastern Chalukyan Period (605-1061 A. D.)". Has also written a paper on "The relation between the Rashtrakutas and the Eastern Chalukyas, 747-925 A. D.", besides an historical introduction to a collection of some Eastern Chalukya inscriptions by Mr. P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.B., Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagram.

12. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E., I.E.S. (Retd.).

Has published a book entitled "India : A short cultural history".

13. Mr. U Ba Dun, Bar.-at-Law, Rangoon.

Is preparing a work on the 'History of Burma for the period 1350 to 1400 A. D.'.

Has come across two parabaiks (records in parchment vellum) containing the description and painting in colours of the dresses and paraphernalia used by Burmese Kings.

14. Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (Lond.), Cotton College, Gauhati.

Has conducted researches on the history of Assam for the period 1776 to 1826 A. D.

15. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Indore.

Has been examining his own family records dating from about the end of the 18th century, from which a few typical selections have been contributed to the Marathi Volume presented to Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai in October 1938.

16. Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A., I.E.S., University of Rangoon.

Is still engaged in his work in connection with " The Inscriptions of Burma ".

17. Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb, Raja Saheb of Tekkali, Vizagapatam.

Has written articles on (*i*) The History of the Ganga Dynasty of Kalinga ; (*ii*) The circular issued by Maharajah Mukunda Deb of Orissa (1712-1732), both in Oriya and Urdu characters, found among the records in the Attagoda Palace ; and (*iii*) The ancient forehead paintings of Indian ladies.

Has also come across two copper plates in Puri, one in Oriya and the other in Brahmi character, and is engaged in deciphering them.

Has published the following articles :—

(*i*) Ambirdeb's Orangal Inscription ; (*ii*) Ancient Vizianagar Kingdom ; (*iii*) Tekkali Copper Plate of Sylodhwava Dynasty ; (*iv*) Mukunda Deb's Order of Orissa ; (*v*) Devendravarma's Napithavataka Copper-plate grant ; (*vi*) Rock Inscription of Kapileswara Deb at Srikurmam ; (*vii*) Bhanudeva's Inscription at Srikurmam ; (*viii*) Whether the Vanaras of Ramayana were men or monkeys ?—all published in " Sahakar " (Oriya) ; (*ix*) Jayadeb (New Orissa, October 1937) ; (*x*) Ramachandi (Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, July and October 1937) ; and (*xi*) Vizianagar and Orissa (" The Karnataka Historical Review ", Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2).

18. Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of Records, Punjab, Lahore.

Has been writing a " History of the Punjab under the East India Company, 1849-1858," as a thesis for a University degree.

19. Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.

Has published articles on (*i*) Battle of Talikota—Before and After (Vijayanagar sex-centenary vol., 1937) ; (*ii*) Early life of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur (Karnatak Historical Review, July 1937) ; (*iii*) History of Ismail Adil Shah (Indian Culture, July 1937) ; (*iv*) Reign of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur (Indian Cultural Conference, 1937) ; (*v*) Account of Firuz Shah Tughluq (Journal, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1937) ; (*vi*) European Indigo Planters at Bhagalpur (Indian Historical Records Commission, Lahore, 1937) ; and (*vii*) The Hindu Conception of Sovereignty in the Middle Ages (Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1938).

20. Mr. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A., Andhra University.

Has published the results of his recent researches in the form of a book entitled " The development of Local Boards in the Madras Presidency."

21. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., D. J. College, Monghyr.

Has published the following original articles :—

(*i*) Teachers and Disciples (based on Jain sources),—(Modern Review, November 1937) ; (*ii*) Knowledge and Conduct in Jain Scriptures (Jain Antiquary, December 1937) ; (*iii*) Maniyar Math and Snake Cult (Indian Historical Quarterly, December 1937) ; (*iv*) The New Year Festivals (Man in India) ; (*v*) A Jain view of the origin of Institutions (Indian Culture, July 1938) and (*vi*) Previous Births of Sejjamsa (Jain Antiquary, Vol. IV, No. 2).

Also submitted a paper to the Indian History Congress at Allahabad in October 1938 entitled " Who were the Pandyas of Madura ? "

22. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Dacca University.

Has been engaged in writing the first volume of his work entitled " Early political system of the Company in Bengal, 1765-74 ", embodying the results of his researches in the Imperial Record Department and the Bengal Secretariat Record Office during the last seven years.

23. Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Lucknow University.

Is engaged in writing a monograph on the administration of Verelst on the basis of manuscript records of the Government of India and Bengal and other contemporary sources.

Has published the following articles :—

1. " Shamsuddaulah's Intrigues against the English ". (Bengal—Past and Present, Vol. LIII, Part I, 1937.)
2. " Forgotten Conspiracy against the English ". (The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1937.)
3. " Lord Ellenborough and Oudh ". (Journal of Indian History, Vol. XVI, Part I, April, 1937.)
4. " Shujauddaulah ". (Journal of U. P. Historical Society, Vol. X, Part I, July 1937.)
5. " The Mutiny—Guilt of the Taluqdars of Oudh ". (The Twentieth Century, Vol. 3, No. 33, June 1937.)
6. " The Religious Factor in Tribal Unrest on the North-West Frontier ". (Modern Review, April 1937.)
7. " The Problem of the Durand Line ". (Hindustan Review, April 1937, Vol. LXIX, No. 386.)
8. " The Case for a Forward Policy on the North-West Frontier ". (Hindustan Review, May 1937, Vol. LXIX, No. 387.)
9. " The Architecture of the Nawabs of Oudh ". (The Twentieth Century, May 1937.)
10. " The Architecture of Akbar and Shahjahan ". (Indian Culture, Vol. IV, No. 1, July 1937.)
11. " The Architectural Policy of Akbar and Shahjahan ". (The Twentieth Century, August 1937.)
12. " The Latest Phase on the North-West Frontier ". (Modern Review, December 1937.)
13. " Are the Interim Ministries Unconstitutional ? " (Modern Review, May 1937.)

14. " The Discretionary Powers of the Governor in the New Constitution ". (*Ibid.*)
15. " The Governor's Individual Judgment in the New Constitution ". (Hindustan Review, June 1937.)
16. " The Public Services under the New Constitution.". (Modern Review, August 1937.)
17. " The Royal Veto in the New Constitution.". (Modern Review, September 1937.)
18. " British Vested Interests in India and the New Constitution.". (Modern Review, October, 1937.)
19. " Verelst's Observations on Shujauddaulah's Character ". (Proceedings, Ind. Hist. Records Com., Vol. XIV.)
20. " Some New Light on Shujauddaullah's Policy and Character.". (Indian Culture. Vol. IV, No. 4.)
21. " Italians and Mughal Pietra Dura ". (Journal U. P. H. S., Vol. X, Part 2.)

24. Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Director of Archæology in Travancore, Trivandrum.

Has examined old palm leaf documents and other records available in the State for a study of the economic history of the Travancore State in relation to its bearing on the Land Revenue history of South India.

25. Prof. D. V. Potdar, B.A., Poona.

Secured about 200 letters and documents from Konkan about the Sarpotdar family, including 6 old Adilshahi firmans and some very important Maratha papers, about 80 letters from the Purohits of Puriya, two bags of miscellaneous old papers from Panvel (Bapat family), 43 bags from the Chinchwad Sansthan and 23 bags from the Tulshibagvale family. Also secured about 50 coins and five or six pieces of old tenth century sculpture. Exhibited a precious album of Moghal Emperors, an illuminated Mss. of Sadis Karima and 34 other paintings. Press copy of the Sarpotdar and Purohit family papers is ready and will be printed as soon as financial assistance is forthcoming. Has published in the quarterly Journal of the Mandala a Perso-Maratha inscription, dated Shaka 1499, two Marathi inscriptions, dated Shaka 1595 and 1597, an historical survey of Vadhu and other miscellaneous notes and notices. Some others are awaiting publication, including Nana Phadnavis' office notes from the Fad section belonging to the Gondhalekar family. At his instance the Athlyes of Shiposhi have begun publishing their family records which contain some very old and useful papers.

26. Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Jodhpur.

Published the following articles :—

1. A letter of Maharana Sangramsinghji addressed to Maharaja Ajitsinghji (Dr. Woolner commemoration volume).
2. First ray of the social reforms in Rajputana (Sarda commemoration volume).
3. History of Rashtrakutas and Prof. Mujumdar (Journal of Indian History, Madras).
4. Hindu Puranas, their age and value (New Indian Antiquary, Poona).
5. Letters exchanged between Emperor Aurangzeb and his son, Prince Mohammad Akbar (Indian History Congress, Allahabad).

6. The Caste System and Religion among Hindus (Indian Culture).
7. Maharaja Tkhatsingh (in Hindi), (Sudha, Lucknow).
8. Maharaja Jaswantsingh I and Pulibai, a saint (in Hindi), (Kalyan, Gorakhpur).
9. A letter of Maharaja Ajitsinghji relating to the emergency administration (New Indian Antiquary, Poona).

Also examined about 130 Khas Ruqqas written by the Jodhpur rulers to their officials, at present in the possession of Mr. Raghunath Mal Mathur, a local man of Jodhpur.

27. Khan Bahadur Jafar Hasan, B.A., Agra.

Has written the following articles :—

1. Diwan-i-Dara Shikoh, eldest son of the Emperor Shah Jahan.
2. An inscription of Mallu Iqbal Khan, ruler of Delhi about the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, A. D. The epigraph is engraved on a stone slab fixed on the southern bastion of an old Idgah at the village Kharera near Delhi.

Examined, deciphered and translated certain inscriptions and documents offered to him for the purpose by the Jaipur State. Also examined a number of ancient Muslim coins ; deciphered 49 Mughal silver coins sent to him by the Patiala Durbar ; and dealt with 68 coins discovered at the south-west bastion at the Taj enclosure in the course of making excavations for its repairs.

Delivered two lectures on the antiquity of Palestine.

APPENDIX D.

List of Corresponding Members of the Indian Historical Records Commission (corrected up to 31st December 1938).

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
	I.— IN ENGLAND.	
1	Sir Edward Denison Ross, C. I. E., Ph.D., Director, School of Oriental Studies, London Institution (University of London), and formely Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, Finsbury Circus, London, E. C. 2.	London.
2	Sir William Foster, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of Records, India Office, 4, Reynold's Close, London, N. W. 11.	London.
3	Mr. W. T. Ottewill, O.B.E., Superintendent of Records, India Office, Whitehall, London, S. W. 1.	London.
4	Sir Evan Cotton*, M.A., C.I.E., formerly President of the Bengal Legislative Council and a Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 11, Jevington Gardens, Eastbourne, Sussex.	London.
5	Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E., C/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.	London.
6	Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., B.Litt., F. R. Hist. S., Cromwell's House, Woodstock, Oxford.	London.
	II.—IN BRITISH INDIA.	
	ASSAM.	
7	Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.(Lond.), Professor, Cotton College, Gauhati, and Hony. Provincial Director, Deptt. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam	Gauhati.
	BENGAL.	
8	Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., 6-A, Old Ballygunge Road, Calcutta.	Calcutta.
9	Dr. J. C. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Deptt. of Economics, Presidency College, Calcutta.	Calcutta.
10	Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji, Hony. Member, Calcutta Historical Society, Calcutta.	Calcutta.
11	Mr. Mesrovb J. Seth, M.R.A.S., 9, Marsdon Street, Calcutta	Calcutta.
12	Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., Ashutosh Professor of Indian History, Calcutta University, Calcutta.	Calcutta.
13	Mr. K. Zachariah, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S., Principal, Islamia College, Calcutta.	Calcutta.
14	The Rt. Rev. Monsignor J. Fernandes, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Calcutta.	Calcutta.

* Since deceased.

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
15	Hakim Habibur Rahman, Hakim Habibur Rahman Road, Dacca	Dacca.
16	Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Dacca.	Dacca.
17	Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Deptt. of Political Science, Dacca University.	Dacca.
	BIHAR.	
18	The Hon'ble Mr. Justice, J. F. W. James, Kt., M.A., I.C.S., Bar.-at-Law, High Court, Patna.	Patna.
19	Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), M.R.A.S., Principal, Patna College, Patna.	Patna.
20	Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Central Circle, Patna.	Patna.
21	Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr ..	Monghyr.
22	Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Professor of History, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpore	Bhagalpore.
	BOMBAY.	
23	Mr. D. V. Potdar, B.A., Secretary, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona.	Poona.
24	Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., P. O. Kamshet, District Poona	Poona.
25	Mr. H. G. Franks, Journalist, C/o. Editor, The Times of India, Bombay	Bombay.
	DELHI.	
26	Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Professor of History, St. Stephen's College, Delhi	Delhi.
	MADRAS.	
27	Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Deptt. of History & Economics, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram ..	Vizianagram.
28	Rao Sahib C. S. Srinavasachari, M.A., Professor and Head of the Department of History & Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar	Annamalainagar.
29	Mr. M. Venkatarangaiya, M.A., Reader in History, Andhra University, Waltair	Waltair.
30	Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History & Archæology, Madras University, Madras.	Madras.
31	Sri Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Sastriar, B.A. (Oxon.), Prof. of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.	Madras.
32	Mr. J. Franco, M.A., L.T., Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras.	Madras.
33	Mr. T. R. Sesha Iyengar, M.A., Head of the Deptt. of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.	Madras.
34	Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar, M.A., Professor and Head of the Deptt. of Indian History, Presidency College, Madras.	Madras.

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
35	Raja Bahadur Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb, Raja Saheb of Tekkali, District Vizagapatam	Vizagapatam.
	PUNJAB.	
36	Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., Principal, Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur	Hoshiarpur.
37	Mr. Muhammad Sadullah, M.A., Assistant to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.	Lahore.
38	Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Lahore.	Lahore.
	UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.	
39	Mr. A. B. A. Haleem, B.A. (Oxon.), Bar.-at-Law, Pro Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh	Aligarh.
40	Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra.	Agra.
41	Mr. J. C. Taluqdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra.	Agra.
42	Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Professor and Head of the Deptt. of Indian History, Lucknow University, Lucknow.	Lucknow.
43	Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Lucknow University.	Lucknow.
	III.—IN INDIAN STATES.	
	BARODA.	
44	Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Manager, Huzur Political Office, Baroda	Baroda.
	GWALIOR.	
45	Dr. Prakas Chandra, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor of Civics and Political Science, Victoria College, Gwalior.	Gwalior.
46	Rani Lakshmibai Rajwade, Gwalior	Gwalior.
	HYDERABAD.	
47	Mr. R. M. Crofton, I.C.S., Director General, Revenue Department, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).	Hyderabad.
48	Syed Khursheed Ali, Director, Daftar-o-Devani, Mal and Mulki, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad (Deccan).	Hyderabad.
	INDORE.	
49	Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A., Saraswati Niketan, Indore State, Indore.	Indore.
50	Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore	Indore.

Serial No.	Name.	Centre.
	Jodhpur.	
51	Pandit Bisheswarnath Reu, Supdt., Archæological Department, Jodhpur State	Jodhpur.
	Kolhapur.	
52	Dr. Balkrishna, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., F.R.Hist.S., Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur	Kolhapur.
	Mayurbhanj.	
53	Mr. Paramananda Acharya, B.Sc., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada, Orissa	Mayurbhanj.
	Mysore.	
54	Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, the Mysore Economic Journal, Siddicutta, Bangalore	Bangalore.
	Travancore and Cochin.	
55	Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon.), F. R. Hist. S., Pro Vice-Chancellor, University of Travancore, and Director of Public Instruction, Travancore	Travancore and Cochin.
56	Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Director of Archæology in Travancore State	Travancore.
	IV.—IN FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA.	
	French.	
57	Mons. A. Balasubramaniam Pillai, Member, Historical Society of French India, and late Head Clerk, H. E. the Governor's Office, Pondicherry	Pondicherry.
	Portuguese.	
58	Sir Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences, and Curator, Historical Records of Portuguese India, Cavaliero, Nova Goa	Nova Goa.
	V.—IN BURMA.	
59	Mr. G. H. Luce, M.A. (Cantab.), I.E.S., Lecturer in Far Eastern History, University College, Rangoon.	Rangoon.
60	U. Ba Dun, Bar.-at-Law, Secretary to the House of Representatives, Rangoon.	Rangoon.
61	U. Khin Maung. B.A., Editor, "Headman's Gazette", Rangoon	Rangoon.

APPENDIX E.

Rules regulating the access of the public to the Records of the Daftar-e-Divani, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government.

N.B.—The term, Daftar-e-Divani, wherever it occurs in these rules, will include all the Daftars amalgamated with it. As the Records in the Daftar-e-Divani are "Current Records" of the Government, they will, therefore, be open to the public for the purpose of *bona-fide* historical research only, and subject to the following conditions:

1. The Daftar-e-Divani shall be open only to an authorized person every day, except Fridays and such days as are declared to be Government holidays, between 11 A.M. and 3 P.M., or 9 A.M. and 12 noon.

2. Persons wishing to examine the Records shall apply in writing to the Director, Daftar-e-Divani (Hyderabad-Deccan), stating their office, profession, qualifications, titles, the place of birth, and the present domicile, and the object with which they desire to examine them.

3. Each application must be accompanied with a recommendation on the prescribed form to be obtained from the Director, Daftar-e-Divani.

4. All the applications shall be disposed of by the Director, Daftar-e-Divani, in accordance with the Departmental Rules, drawn up from time to time.

5. The public have no right to see, or have copies of, the Records of the Government in the custody of the Daftar-e-Divani, and the Director, Daftar-e-Divani, reserves to himself the right to refuse any application, or to accept it with such modifications as he considers necessary. No reason will be given in case of refusal.

6. Permission to inspect the Records shall remain valid for two months only from the date on which it is granted. If the permission is not availed of, or if the inspection of the Records is not completed within the period, a further application for permission to inspect, or continue to inspect, the Records, as the case may be, shall be submitted to the Director, Daftar-e-Divani.

7. Records may be inspected only within the room allotted for the purpose, and in the presence of the Supervisory Staff.

8. The Director, Daftar-e-Divani, may impose such further conditions, as he deems necessary, to ensure the preservation and proper treatment of the Records in his custody.

9. No information shall be given; and no copy or extract or any notes, made in connection with the Records, shall be taken out of the Study Room, but all such material shall be left with the Supervisory Staff; nor shall any use be made of the information so gained without the permission of the Director, Daftar-e-Divani. Any material left with the Supervisory Staff will be returned to the person in question, if and when passed by the Director, Daftar-e-Divani. The Director, Daftar-e-Divani, can refuse to pass any such material at his own discretion without assigning any reason for refusal.

10. Persons unable to examine the Records themselves, may apply for a search to be made at their cost, to the Director, Daftar-e-Divani, who may, if possible, arrange for the search to be undertaken by any person he may select from his office staff or outside it. In such cases applicants are required to deposit in advance a searching fee of Rs. 60, and if the search is still found

necessary to be continued beyond one calendar month, they must pay in advance at the rate of Rs. 60 a month, or Rs. 2 a day, for the whole period in which the search is continued. If the search is concluded within a month, the balance of the deposit amount, if any, will be refunded, or if after the search is concluded, it is found that the information or the material required cannot for some reason be supplied, the Director, Daftar-e-Divani, will, without giving any reason for this decision, refund the full amount paid in advance.

11. Documents of exceptional value, and documents in a fragile condition, shall only be produced, subject to such special conditions as the Director, Daftar-e-Divani, thinks necessary for their safety. No documents shall be issued for the use of the student where authorized copies exist. Not more than one document will be issued at one time to the student.

12. No person shall lean on any of the documents, or put one document on the top of the other, or place upon the documents the paper on which he is writing. The utmost care must be exercised in handling all the documents entrusted to the students for inspection.

13. No mark of any description shall be made on any Records, and no tracing, whatsoever, is permitted.

14. No ink fountain pen, or indelible pencil, or typewriter shall be taken with, or used within the Study Room, for the purpose of taking notes, or making extracts, by the persons permitted to inspect the Records. In all cases, ordinary black pencil shall be used.

15. Any authorized person, wishing to have a selected document copied for him in his absence, shall apply in writing to the Director, Daftar-e-Divani, and must pay in advance a copying-fee at the rate of Rs. 2 per 100 words, or part thereof. The Director, Daftar-e-Divani, reserves to himself the right to refuse any such application at his own discretion, without giving any reason for refusal ; and his orders shall be final.

16. Any person who uses the Records for the purpose of research, and publishes works or articles, based on them, or in which he refers to them, is required to deposit, in the Daftar-e-Divani, one copy each of such writings on publication.

17. Silence, as far as possible, is to be maintained in the Study Room. No umbrellas, sticks, or bags shall be taken into the Study Room. No person shall chew pan, or other like substance, while working in the Study Room, nor shall any food be eaten there. Smoking and spitting are strictly prohibited. Under no circumstances is it permitted to strike a match in the Room.

18. Any person may be excluded from the Study Room for :

(*a*) Wilful breach of the foregoing rules and regulations ;

(*b*) Persistent disregard of the authority of the officer-in-charge ;

(*c*) Damage of any sort to any Records, or article, belonging to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government ;

(*d*) Language, conduct, habits, or anything else offensive, or likely to cause offence, to other occupants of the Study Room ;

and the matter shall be reported to the Director, Daftar-e-Divani, whose orders shall be final.

19. The above-mentioned rules are not applicable to the Records that relate to Attiyath, for which special rules will be enforced from time to time.

THE DIRECTOR,

DAFTAR-E-DIVANI,

HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S GOVERNMENT,

HYDERABAD-DECCAN.

SIR,

I beg leave to apply for a Ticket of Admission to the Study Room of the Daftar-e-Divani, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, enabling me to inspect the documents there. I promise to comply with the rules and conditions in force.

I append a recommendation duly signed by——————————

*(1) Name——————————

(2) Titles——————————

(3) Designation——————————

(4) Profession——————————

(5) Qualifications——————————

(6) Place of birth——————————

(7) The present domicile——————————

(8) The object of the Research——————————

——————————

(9) Address——————————

——————————

(10) Signature——————————

(11) Date——————————

RECOMMENDATION.

I recommend from personal knowledge—————————— to be a fit and proper person to be allowed access, as student, to the Study Room of the Daftar-e-Divani, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government.

Signed——————————

Address——————————

——————————

Designation——————————

Qualifications——————————

Date——————————

*(Please write clearly.)

No.

Ticket of Admission to the Study Room of the Daftar-e-Divani, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government.

This ticket is valid for two calendar months from the date of issue. It may be renewed on application to the Director, Daftar-e-Divani, if the application is approved.

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is permitted to use the Records in the Study Room of the Daftar-e-Divani, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, subject to the conditions imposed, and to such alterations and limitations, as may, from time to time, without previous notice, be enforced.

Director,
Daftar-e-Divani.

Date of Issue——————————

Date of Expiry——————————

APPENDIX F.

Imperial Record Department.

Amendments to the Rules[1] regulating the access of the public to—

(1) (*i*) the records of His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, and (*ii*) such records relating to British India and Tribal Areas as are inseparably mixed up with (*i*) ; and

(2) the records of the Government of India in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

(*i*) In rule 6 of both sets of the Rules *for* the words ' two months ' *substitute* the words ' six months '.

(*ii*) In rule 8 of both sets of the Rules *delete* the words " with a minimum of Rs. 15 ".

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1 Please see pages 269—83 of the I. H. R. C. Procs., Vol. XIV.

APPENDIX G.

P.-433.
7-12-38.

(With the compliments of the Director of Information, Bombay.)

The Bombay Government have issued a resolution regarding the facilities to be given for the study of Historical Records in the Alienation Office, Poona.

It is pointed out that the Marathi and Persian manuscript records preserved in the Peshwas' Daftar, Poona, have been fully explored and partly published. Their nature and range is not known and nothing which is likely to raise vexatious land disputes has been found among them At the same time, there appears to be a feeling among the public that adequate facilities are not given to students of history wishing to do research work among these materials. As an improvement in this direction can be made by following the lines of work in other public Record Offices, Government, after consulting Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, who have edited the Poona Residency Correspondence and the Peshwas' Marathi Records and also possess wide experience of record management from their long membership of the Indian Historical Records Commission, have issued instructions to the following effect.

The old Modi, Gujarati, Kanarese and Persian Records of the Alienation Office which are mainly of a historical character as indicated in the Hand Book to the Records in the Alienation Office, Poona, sanctioned by Government in 1933 should be freely offered for inspection by research students on formal application as required by the Rules for Inspection contained in the Hand Book to the Records mentioned above.

Certain other Records should be made available for study in the room of the Alienation Office in which the editorial work of the Peshwas' Daftar Series was done, and should be at the disposal of the newly appointed Archivist for his own study and for study by authorised investigators.

The open end of the room mentioned above shall be separated by a wooden partition from the racks of records, and the portion of the room so partitioned shall be reserved for seating investigators who possess official permits. The Archivist shall attend and personally hand over any rumal or paper that an investigator may call for. The investigator shall in no case be allowed access to the racks.

Any notes made or copies transcribed by an authorised investigator shall not be taken out of the Alienation Office unless the Assistant Commissioner has first passed them. The censoring by the Assistant Commissioner shall be done with the least possible delay.

The notes and transcripts made by authorised investigators shall be accepted by the Assistant Commissioner for censoring, even if hand-written, provided they are clear and legible. Translation into English shall not be insisted upon. There will be no objection to the histories of old official or noble families being studied or copied.

The new arrangements should be given a trial for one year, in the first instance, and the public should be warned that if the concessions are abused and any damage or loss is caused to the records these orders will be cancelled and access to the Records by research students will be restricted.

APPENDIX H.

Extract from a letter from the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission, to the Superintendent of Records, India Office, London, No. 282-H.C., dated the 26th August 1938.

I enclose herewith for your information extracts from the proceedings of the meeting of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lahore in December 1937 and shall be glad if you will kindly supply this Department, as early as possible, with any information on the points mentioned therein with regard to the preservation of records in the India Office and in Europe, together with a copy of the rules observed in European archives.

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Extracts.

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Dr. B. S. Baliga pointed out that there was very little discussion at the meeting in regard to the preservation of records. He mentioned that he had attended one or two meetings of the Record Associations in England and found that the subjects discussed were, for instance, (1) how cataloguing should be undertaken, (2) how indexing should be done, and (3) what measure should be taken for the preservation of records not only in Government offices but also in the possession of private individuals. The speaker thought that a discussion of this nature would be very useful to all the members who had come from far and near. He desired that a note of his suggestion should be kept for future reference, as uniformity of practice in all the public record offices in India was a very desirable end. The Chairman thought that discussion on that point could be fruitful only if a precis of the action taken by the best archivists of Europe had been circulated beforehand as the basis of discussion, and it could well come up at the next session. He asked the Secretary to make a note of this.

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Extract from a letter, dated the 8th November 1938, from the Superintendent of Records, India Office, London.

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I am not clear whether Dr. Baliga has in mind rules regarding the elimination or destruction of some categories of records, or the preservation of records against certain risks—loss from fire, deterioration, etc., etc. If the former, our rule is to " weed out ", from time to time, records of ephemeral interest. So far, this has been done departmentally. It is probable, however, that the question of uniformity of practice will be considered in the near future.

As regards special dangers, we follow the practice and act on the advice of the Public Record Office. In this connection please see letter of September 1935 (R.-1516|35). of which I enclose a copy for easy reference. The Public Record Office methods are described in Mr. Hilary Jenkinson's *Archive Administration,* of which a new edition has been recently published.

Mr. Jenkinson was responsible for the chapter " Angleterre " of the League of Nations' *Guide International des Archives—Europe,* which I am sending to you in the hope that it will serve the Commission's purpose.

Extract from a letter, dated September 1935, from the Superintendent of Records, India Office, London, to the Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, Calcutta.

I understand that for current records our binder uses a flour paste containing a small quantity of alum, and that old documents in the custody of our Librarian (such as Oriental Manuscripts) that have been ravaged by insects are covered by silk gauze by means of Persian gum, with a view to preventing further deterioration.

The Stationery Office use a special preparation for the protection of books from insect and fungoid attack in tropical climates, consisting of :—

Ethyl-mercury-chloride	2 grammes.
Beechwood creosote	1 gramme.
Rectified spirit (or industrial methylated spirit) ..	200 cubic centimetres.

Each page is ' washed ' with this preparation, and a warning note affixed to the volume, as the preparation contains a small quantity of poison.

APPENDIX I.

Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts, etc., exhibited at the Bharata Itihasha Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona, in connection with the Fifteenth Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

From the Imperial Record Department.

1. Copy of a Treaty with Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah of Oudh. [Pub. 9 Sept. 1765, No. 1 (b).]

2—6. Copies of Farmans from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam granting the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company and copy of an agreement between the Company and the Nawab of Murshidabad, the previous Diwan, in connection with the above grant. (Pub. 9 Sept. 1765, Nos. 2—6.)

7. Proclamation of Peace concluded between the East India Company and Nawab Vazir Shuja-ud-Dowlah in the year 1765 and ratified by the King Shah Alam (Pub. 9 Sept. 1765, No. 12.)

8. A statement of the fifty lacs to be paid by Shuja-ud-Dowlah. A statement of King Shah Alam's debt to the Company. (These statements are in the handwriting of Lord Clive.) (Pub. 9. Sept. 1765, No. 13.)

9. Letter from Major A. Pollier, reporting that the Nawab Vazir Shuja-ud-Dowlah is dying.—(Sec. 6 Feby. 1775, No. 3.)

10. Letter from Major A. Pollier, reporting the Nawab Vazir's (Shuja-ud-Dowlah's) death and communicating his last request. (Sec. 6 Feby. 1775, No. 4.)

11. Translation of a letter from Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah written just before his death, requesting the English to support his son Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah. (Sec. 6 Feby. 1775, No. 5.)

12. Copy of Articles of Agreement between Nawab Najm-ud-Dowlah of Bengal and the King of Delhi. (Pub. 9 Sept. 1765, No. 8.)

13. Translation of an agreement on the part of the Rohilla *Sardars* with the *Vazir*, the terms being that the *Vazir* is to free the Rohilla country of the Marathas either by peace or by war, and that the *Sardars* are to pay him forty lacs of rupees for his assistance. (Sec. 23 July 1772, No. 3.)

14. Translation of a letter from the King giving General Carnac a present of wo lacs of rupees. (Pub. 25 Sept. 1765, No. 7.)

15-16. Lord Clive's proposals for appropriating the legacy of five lacs of rupees conferred upon him by Nawab Mir Jafar and the present of three lacs of rupees made to his Lordship by Nawab Najm-ud-Dowlah to the benefit of the Company's invalid servants and widows of those who lost their lives in the Company's service. Among the enclosures are translations of three certificates concerning the legacy of five lacs (attested 12 Jany. 1767) given by Nawab Najm-ud-Dowlah, his mother, *i.e.*, wife of Nawab Mir Jafar, and Maharajah Nund Kumar. [Pub. 14 Apr. 1766, No. 2, and 20 Jany. 1767, Nos. 6 and 6 (1) to 6 (5).]

17. Letter from Warren Hastings to the Council intimating the cession of Kora and Allahabad to the *Nawab Vazir* of Oudh in consideration for a sum of 50 lacs of rupees and also his having settled certain other matters with the Nawab. (Sec. 23 Sept. 1773, No. 3.)

18. Minute by Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker, Commander-in-Chief, on the formation of a militia for the internal protection of the country and the collection of revenues. (Sec. 28 Jany. 1773, No. 2.)

19—20. Minutes of the Board on *Dadney* purchases, establishing liberty of trade, and prohibiting any attempt to force advance upon weavers. In Warren Hastings' handwriting. (Pub. 12 Apr. 1773, Nos. 6-7.)

21. Recommendation from the Governor General to Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah of Oudh for the grant of certain *jagirs* to Rajah Kullian Singh. (Sec. 17 Apr. 1775, No. 1.)

22. Governor General's Minute regarding the introduction of a paper currency. (Pub. 1st May 1780, No. 24.)

23. Regulations for Treasury Notes. (Pub. 8 May 1780, No. 19.)

24. Minute of the Governor General, reporting the death of Sir William Jones, deploring his loss, and suggesting that all materials left by him for the Digest of the Hindu and Muhammadan Laws may be asked for from his executor. (Pub. 2 May 1794, No. 1.)

25. Letter from Muhammad Elich Khan requesting the protection of the English for himself and the new Nawab. (Secret 6 Feby. 1775, No. 6.)

26. Copy of Minute of the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay on the education of the natives, dated the 2nd Feby. 1835. (Pub. 7 March 1835, No. 15.)

27. Lord Auckland's Minute on the promotion of education among the natives of India. (H. D. G. G.'s Con. 24th Nov. 1839, No. 10.)

28-29. Original notes and Minutes on the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India by Lord William Bentinck, Governor General, the Hon'ble A. Ross and the Hon'ble Lt. Col.-W. Morrison, C.B., Members of the Supreme Council, and Mr. H. T. Princep, Secretary to the Government of India in the General Department ; there are notes and remarks in pencil on Mr. Princep's Minute by the Hon. T. B. Macaulay (afterwards Lord), Member of the Supreme Council. (Pub. 7 Mar. 1835, No. 19 & K.W.)

30. Trade of the Native States in India with the United Kingdom of Great Britain placed on the same footing with certain exceptions as that of the British possessions in the East Indies. (For. 25 Nov. 1853, No. 39—41.)

31—34. Introduction of postage stamps in supersession of the system of money payments as postage. These papers show what attempts were made at the time to print the stamps in India. (Pub. 18 Mar. 1853, No. 1 ; 12 May 1854, Nos. 44-45 ; 19 May 1854, No. 64.)

35. Proclamation issued by Nana Sahib to incite the Indian troops during the Mutiny, 1857, together with translation received from Mr. Wynyard, the then Judge at Gorakhpore. (Pub. 7 Aug. 1857, No. 137.)

36. Letter from Capt. W. Richardson submitting a report of his voyage from London to purchase slaves for Fort Marlbro. (Pub. 22 Aug. 1765, No. 1.)

37. Letter from the Minister to the King of Rangam (Rangoon) intimating that the King has granted Lord Clive some ground in his city to make a Factory and Bank-shall to repair and rebuild ships. [Pub. 1 Feby. 1768, Nos. 2 (a)—16.]

38. Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George, enclosing a copy of the verdict of the inquest held on the death of Lord Pigot and a bill of indictment against the late administration and others for wilful murder, and reporting that their sessions have had to be adjourned, pending the determination of certain points of law, on which they desire a reference to the Judges of the Supreme Court. (Pub. 3 Nov. 1777, No. 1.)

39. Copy of the verdict of an inquest held at Fort St. George from the 11th May 1777 to the 7th August 1777, on the body of Lord Pigot. (Pub. 3 Nov. 1777, No. 2.)

40. Bill of indictment against Mr. George Stratton and others for the murder of George Lord Pigot. (Pub. A. 3 Nov. 1777, No. 3.)

41—47 Abolition of *Sati* rite in the dominion of the Raja of Nagpur. (Pol. 24 Sept. 1832, No. 43 ; 14 Jany. 1833, No. 45 ; 3 July 1837, No. 39 ; 14 Aug. 1837, Nos. 52-3 ; 25 Sept. 1837, Nos. 104—106 ; 13 Nov. 1839 Nos. 6—8, Pol. Desp. from Court No. 3, dated 30 Jany. 1839, para. 52.)

48-49. Suppression of human sacrifice in some hill tracts of Orissa, namely, Kalahandi, Bastar and their dependencies, etc. (For. 3 Jany. 1851, Nos. 114-115, and Pol. 23 March 1855, Nos. 114-115.)

50. Human sacrifices in certain districts of the Central Provinces. (Pub. A. 30 May 1868, No 141.)

51-52. Suppression of infanticide among the Rajputs. (Pub. A. 7 May 1870, Nos. 1—4 ; A, 20 Aug. 1870, Nos. 96—98.)

53. Suppression of human sacrifice in the Hill tracts of Orissa. (Pol. 19 Oct. 1855, Nos. 84-85.)

54. Capture of Tantia Topi's family by Sindhia Subah of Bhind. (Sec. 24 Sept. 1858, No. 123.)

55. A genealogical table of the Bhonsla family from which both the Satara and Kolapur Rajas derived their origin. (Pol. A. May 1871, Nos. 563—74.)

56. Major-General Sir John Malcolm's Minute on the Revenue and Judicial Administration of the Southern Maratha Country and the Genealogy of the Maratha Chiefs, 1829. (For. Misc. Records, No. 204.)

57. Mr. H. T. Prinsep's narrative of Alexander's expedition to India, Circa 1842. (For. Misc. Records, No. 346.)

58. Public Despatch from the Court of Directors, No. 1 of 3 January 1853, referring for the consideration of the Government of India a plan by Mr. Julius Reuter for the establishment of a direct and uninterrupted communication between the electric telegraph in India and those in Europe.

59. From Madho Rao Sindhia. Request that the Nawab Vazir may be asked to restore the salary and the *Jagir* of Mir Mohomed Ajmad who has been rendering good services to rich Hindu pilgrims from the Deccan. (Persian, 14 Aug. 1790, No. 204.)

60. From Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla. Informs the Governor General that his mother will shortly set out on a pilgrimage to Benares, Gaya and Prayag and requesting him to direct the *Talluqdars* of those places to afford her every facility in the accomplishment of her object. (Persian, 27 Aug. 1791, No. 409.)

61. From Munni Begam. Sends a letter to Sir John Shore for transmission to Warren Hastings congratulating the latter on the occasion of his acquittal from impeachment. Bears the Begam's seal. (Persian, 5 Nov. 1795, No. 312.)

62. From His Majesty Shah Alam. Has learnt from the Governor General's letter that he is leaving for Madras with a view to punishing Tipu for his having invaded Travancore, the territory of an ally of the English. Bears the seal of His Majesty. (Persian, 8 March 1790, No. 50.)

63. From Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that by order of the Peshwa he seized and imprisoned Nana Farnavis on 12 Rajab, 31 December 1797. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (Persian, 5 Feb. 1798, No. 88.)

64. From Maharaja Siwai Partab Singh of Jaipur. Informs the Governor General that Vazir Ali has arrived in his country and is now in his custody. Bears the Maharaja's seal, 1799 A.D. (Persian, 17 Sept. 1799, No. 260.)

65. From Ali Ibrahim Khan, Judge at Benares. Reports that the Mahrattas have released Shah Alam from the room in which he was confined by Ghulam Quadir Khan after having been blinded by him. (Persian, 24 Oct. 1788, No. 501.)

66. From Tipu Sultan. Says that he has deputed his *Vakils* to the Governor-General in order to negotiate a treaty of peace with the East India Company. Bears the seal of Tipu Sultan. 1792 A.D. (Persian, 12 Feb. 1792, No. 14.)

67. A representation from the inhabitants of Benares saying that they have nothing to complain against Captain Hawkin and that they desire that the Captain may continue to reside in their midst. Bears the seals and signatures of the prominent citizens of the town. (Persian, 12 May 1785, No. 17.)

68. From Nana Farnavis, minister of the Peshwa. Received 14 Nov. 1785. Asks the Governor General to send military assistance to the Peshwa and the Nizam against Tipu. (Persian, 14 November 1785, No. 94.)

69. From Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah of Oudh. Complimentary letter written in characteristic Shikastah style. Bears the seal of the Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah. (Persian, 3 Nov. 1784, No. 86.)

70. From Bahu Begam, mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah. Complains against the behaviour of her son. Seeks the assistance of the Governor General in sending the coffin of her late husband (Nawab Shuja-ud-Dowlah) to Karbala. (Persian, 15 Nov. 1778, No. 117.)

71. From Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that Rao Baji Rao, the elder son of Raghunath Rao, has been installed Peshwa in succession to Madho Rao who is dead. Nana Farnavis would not at first agree to the measure out of selfish motives but had to acquiesce when he found that none of the Chiefs would support him. (Persian, 9 Sep. 1796, No. 328.)

72. From Haidar Beg Khan, a minister of Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah. Expresses pleasure at the recovery of the King of England from his illness. Sends a Nazr of 101 gold mohurs to be forwarded to the King of England and Rs. 10,000 to be distributed among the poor. Bears the seal of Haidar Beg Khan. (Persian, 11 Aug. 1789, No. 175.)

73. From the Peshwa (Narayan Rao). Says that he will stick to the terms of the treaty and asks the Governor General to do the same. (Persian, 12 Dec. 1778, No. 138.)

74. From Chait Singh, Raja of Benares. Sends a *hundi* for 1½ lacs of rupees on account of Benares revenues through his *Vakil* Shaikh Ali Naqi. Says that he is in financial difficulties and requests the Governor General's assistance in the adjustment of his affairs. (Persian, 13 Nov. 1778, No. 112.)

75. From Raja Kalyan Singh. Requests the Governor General to procure the release of his *Jagir* at Allahabad and to obtain for him the *nazranah* from the Dutch factory. Asks for an advance of Rs. 50,000 in order to enable him to make a pilgrimage to Allahabad. (Persian, 15 Dec. 1778, No. 141.)

76. From Maharaja Krishna Raja Wodeyar of Mysore. Expresses his gratitude to the Governor General on being released from his confinement and placed on the *masnad* of his ancestors after the victory of the English over Tipu at Seringapatam. Bears the Maharaja's seal. (Persian, 12 July 1799, No. 198.)

77. From Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh. Intimates that Vazir Ali Khan, the murderer of Mr. Cherry, has been arrested in Jaipur and made over to Mr. Collins. Bears the Nawab's seal. (Persian, 21 Dec. 1799, No. 435.)

78. From Nawab Saadat Ali Khan of Oudh. Intimates that Vazir Ali Khan after having killed Mr. G. Cherry, Agent of the Governor General, and four other gentlemen at Benares has absconded. Bears the Nawab's seal. (Persian, 12 Feb. 1799, No. 25.)

Specimens of repairing work done in the Imperial Record Department.

79. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. (This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae.)

80. Manuscripts illustrating the evil effect of using white tracing paper in repairing important documents. (Pub. 20 Jan. 1763, No. 3 ; Pub. 16 May, No. 5.) Tracing paper subsequently peeled off and replaced by chiffon. (Pub. 28 Jan. 1785, No. 1 ; Pub. 29 Feb. 1780, No. 7.) Other methods of repairing documents. (Pub. 10 Apr. 1780, No. 24.)

81. Repaired manuscript volumes illustrating how the isolated, worm-eaten and damaged sheet can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding. (Index to Register of Deeds, Vol. I, 1781—1789.)

From Sangli State.

Portraits—

82. Portrait (Oil painting) of Shrimant Chintamanrao Appasaheb, first ruler of Sangli, drawn by an English artist in 1828—30.

83. The Duke of Wellington : English engraving presented by the Duke in 1846 A.D.

84. Lord Cornwallis—Governor General of India.

Letters—

85. Copy of a letter dated 30th November 1830, from the Hon'ble Governor of Bombay to Shrimant Chintamanrao Appasaheb, first ruler of Sangli, informing the latter that the adoption of a son has been strongly recommended for sanction.

86. Original letter dated 12th July 1839, from Mr. Mount Stuart Elphinstone to Shreemant Chintamanrao Appasaheb, first ruler of Sangli, offering warmest congratulations on the birth of a son.

87. Original letter dated 17th December 1847, from the Hon'ble Tweeddale, Governor of Fort St. George, to Shrimant Chintamanrao Appasaheb, first ruler of Sangli, on the presentation of a sword to the latter by the Hon'ble Court of Directors.

88. Original letter dated 26th February 1848, from the Hon'ble Earl of Clora to Shrimant Chintamanrao Appasaheb, first ruler of Sangli, on the presentation of a sword as above.

89. Original letter dated 21st January 1860, from Colonel E. H. Townsend to Shrimant Dhondiraj Tatyasaheb, second ruler of Sangli, at the time of his installation advising him to follow in the footsteps of his father.

From the Sayeedia Library, Hyderabad Deccan (through Mr. Mohammed Ghouse).

90. Original Persian letter from Lord Clive to Nawab Mohammed Ali Khan Walajah.

91. Original Persian correspondence between Warren Hastings and Walajah.

92. Original Persian correspondence between Lord Cornwallis and Walajah.

93. Original Persian correspondence between Lord Wellesley and the Nawabs of the Carnatic.

94. Original Persian correspondence between the Nawabs of the Carnatic and other Governors General, such as Sir John Shore and Sir John Macpherson.

95. Original Adilshahi Farmans addressed to Tanjore Rajahs such as Shaji Bhonsle and others.

96. Shahjehan, the Mughal Emperor's Farmans to Ali Adil Shah of Bijapore.

97. Farman of Alamgir II addressed to the Rajah of Tanjore.

98. Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor's Farmans to the Nawabs of the Carnatic.

99. Letters from Asaf Jah, Nasir Jung and Salabath Jung to the Rajah of Tanjore.

100. Original correspondence, both English and Persian, between the Governors of Madras and the Nawabs of the Carnatic.

101. Original correspondence between Nawab Walajah and Basalath-Jung of Hyderabad.

102. Original correspondence of Nawab Walajah and his sons with Nawab Nizam Ali Khan of Hyderabad.

103. Nawab Nizam Ali Khan's letters to various Rajahs and Zamindars of the Carnatic.

104. Letters exchanged between Nawab Walajah and Arastu Jah of Hyderabad.

105. Letters exchanged between Nawab Walajah and Nawab Ruknud-Dowlah of Hyderabad.

106. Correspondence between Mir Alam of Hyderabad and the Nawabs of the Carnatic.

From Mr. Gope R. K. Gur-Bax, B.A., Hyderabad-Sind.

107. A. manuscript history of Sind by Mr. Mahmud Maisumi: written in rhymed prose and in legible hand. The Persian manuscript was completed on 20th July 1851 A.D. It has a superscription as follows :—

"Presented to the Kurachee General Library by H. B. E. Frere, May 1853".

108. A collection entitled " Photographs of Sind " containing photographs depicting various strata of Society of Sind. A clear idea can be had of the lives and peculiar dresses of Amils, Brahooees, Balochees, Mirs and Mirzas and of other groups.

109. A photograph of His Highness Mir Nur-Mohmad of Sind, the last Mir honoured by that title. It shows the ruler in a typical dress of the kings of those days.

L37IRD—425—14-8-39—GIPS